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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports on Shikhany *[4 Oct]* 1
GDR, Danish Leaders Back Arms Initiatives *[PRAVDA 7 Oct]* 2
Reykjavik Meeting Discusses Arms Proposals 2
U.S. Tests Trident-2 With Dummy Warhead 3
Correction to Levin Commentary on Talks 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Pyadyshev on Preparations for Shultz Visit *[IZVESTIYA 8 Oct]* 4
Petrovskiy Addresses UN Economic Committee 4
PRAVDA 4 October 'International Review' *[Drobkov]* 4

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Nikonov Visit, Meetings 8
Discussions With Reagan 8
Moscow TV Report 8
Reagan Vows Continued Support for Contras 9
U.S. Has Disinformation Section on Nicaragua 9

Near East & South Asia

Defense Minister Sees Off Afghan Counterpart 9
DRA General Notes Pakistani 'Interference' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Oct]* 9
Further on Ambassador Sytenko's Libyan Visit 10
'Frank' Talks With Al-Talih 10
Received by Al-Qadhdhafi 10
AKSO Conference Criticizes Israeli Policies *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 30 Sep]* 10

Sub-Saharan Africa

CPSU's Shirsin Leads Delegation to Angola 11
Visits Angolan Party School *[PRAVDA 1 Oct]* 11
Speaks at Press Conference *[Luanda]* 11
Delegation Ends Visit 12
Agricultural Delegation Visits Ethiopia *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 7 Oct]* 12

East Europe

Dobrynin, Medvedev Receive BCP's Stanishev 12
Bulgarian Leaders Receive Vedernikov 6 Oct *[PRAVDA 7 Oct]* 12
Reportage on GDR 'Republic Day' Jubilee 12
Yazov Greets Counterpart *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Oct]* 12
Moscow Meeting Marks Day *[PRAVDA 7 Oct]* 13
Friendship Society Greets GDR *[ADN]* 13
A. Adzhubey Inteviewed by Hungarain Daily *[MAGYAR HIRLAP Supplement 3 Oct]* 13

West Europe

Dobrynin Visits West Germany 8 Oct 14
To Meet With Kohl, Genscher *[FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 8 Oct]* 15
Further on Visit of Finland's Koivisto 15
Talks With Gromyko 7 Oct *[PRAVDA 8 Oct]* 15
Welcomed in Alma-Ata 16
Swedish Defense Minister Meets Soviet Envoy 16
UK Conservatives Continue Military Strategy 16
Soviet Delegation Talks With Europarliament 16
Natural Gas Agreement Signed With Greece 17

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Shevardnadze L. America Visit 17
Ends Visit to Uruguay 17
Uruguayan Media Coverage *[cross-reference]* 17
Joint Communique Issued *[PRAVDA 8 oct]* 18
Arrives in Cuba, Met by Castro 21
Castro Receives Antonov in Havana 7 Oct 21
Soviet Embassy Official on Cooperation *[Havana]* 21
Ortega Arrives For UNGA Session 8 Oct 22
Draft Treaty on C. American Parliament Approved *[PRAVDA 4 Oct]* 22
L. A. Parliament Criticizes U.S. 'Meddling' 22
Venezuelan Solon Receives CPSU Group 7 Oct 23
Soviet Dissident Speaks on Chilean TV *[Santiago]* 23

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gorbachev Greets Leningrad All-Union Congress 24
Meeting of Moscow City Officials Held 24
Bribe-Takers Convicted 24
Yeltsin Attends Soviet Session 24
Yeltsin Addresses Meeting 24
Biryukova, Lukyanov Attend Youth Concert *[PRAVDA 4 Oct]* 24
Ligachev Attends Memorial of Kazakh Writer *[PRAVDA 3 Oct]* 25
Aliyev Attends Moscow Teachers' Day Meeting *[PRAVDA 3 Oct]* 25
Demonstrators Arrested in Moscow *[AFP]* 25
Editor Grigoryants Condemns Repression *[Paris LIBERATION 5 Oct]* 25
Explosion Destroys Writer's Tomb in Georgia *[AFP]* 27
'Political Discussion Club' Opens in Riga *[IZVESTIYA 5 Oct]* 27
New Tajik Ministry, Minister of Housing *[Dushanbe TOJIKSTONI SOVETI 22 Sep]* 27
Uzbek Writers' Union Leader Replaced *[Tashkent]* 28
Armenian Artists' Congress Elects New Board 28
Ukrainian Linguist Makes Use of Glasnost *[RADYANSKA UKRAINA 22 Sep]* 28
Voss on Cooperative National Relations *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 7 Oct]* 30
'Tact, Wisdom' Needed in National Relations *[Melikyants in IZVESTIYA 4 Oct]* 32
National Sentiments, Patriotism Viewed *[PRAVDA 27 Sep]* 33
Editorial on Political, Economic Instruction *[PRAVDA 29 Sep]* 34
NOVOYE VREMYA Editor on Press Reforms *[Budapest MAGYARORSZ[illegible] 13 Sep]* 39
Letters Cite Opposition to Restructuring *[PRAVDA 28 Sep]* 40
1937 'Reprisals' Against Commissar Recalled *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 26 Sep]* 41
Purged, Rehabilitated Party Veteran Profiled *[NEDELYA 23 Sep]* 41
Ivanov Answers DER SPIEGEL on Trotskiy *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Sep]* 42

Scientific

Further Reportage on 'Mir' Complex 48
Monkeys 'Feeling Fine' 48
Cosmonauts Continue Research 48
More on Moscow International Space Forum 49
Ryzhkov Greets Participants
Marchuk Speaks 49
Dunayev On Future Complexes 50
Zaykov, Vazov, Maslyukov Attend *[PRAVDA 3 Oct]* 50
Participants Urge Cooperation *[PRAVDA 6 Oct]* 50
New Space Experiment Under Phobos Program 51
BRIEFS 51
Arctic Research Station 51
Yevgeny Velikhov Awarded Medal 51

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Reports on Shikhany

PM061313 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Oct 87 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Baberdin: "At the Military Facility in Shikhany"]

[Text] Shikhany, Saratov Oblast—Shikhany is the name of the military facility, directly involved with chemical weapons problems, which is currently the focus of attention for political and public figures, military men, and diplomats.

Why the interest? The new approach to the solution of international problems is currently manifesting itself there. One stage in the practical work of the delegations participating in the Geneva disarmament talks has been transferred here, to Shikhany, a stage which I believe will make it possible to establish favorable conditions at the final stage of the elaboration of a convention on prohibiting chemical weapons.

On the morning of 3 October 150 representatives from the 45 states participating in the Geneva talks and diplomats, military experts, scientists, and journalists from observer countries arrived at Bagay-Baranovka airfield on a special flight from Moscow.

On arrival they were addressed by Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General V. Pikalov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Chemical Troops. Then facility chief Major General R. Razuvanov acquainted those present with the facility's layout, the demonstration schedule, and the program for the working day.

In the standard chemical munitions display area there was a neat row of exhibits, boards with tables of tactical-technical data pinned to them; they were reproduced on monitor screens, and television cameras made it possible to examine any part of the display in detail. The armaments on display included samples of chemical shells for tube and rocket artillery and samples of chemical aerial bombs and chemical spraying devices. A chemical hand grenade—for use when fighting at close quarters—was also on display.

There was a series of reports by officers at the facility. Their information was brief, but as concise as can be. In the case of each munition they gave its military purpose, caliber, and classification, the composition of the toxic agent in the munition, the means of dispersal, the type of explosive, and the construction materials employed.

Those attending the display were supplied with the physical and chemical specifications of the blister and nerve gases and irritants...

Basically, what the experts received was exhaustive information.

At a briefing in the evening Hero of Socialist Labor Lieutenant General A. Kuntsevich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Defense Ministry's leading expert on chemical weapons, when asked whether all the munitions at the disposal of the chemical troops were on display, replied in the affirmative: All except for similar, modified models which were only slightly different in terms of layout or construction materials. And he added, addressing the representatives of foreign delegations: As you will appreciate yourselves, the volume and specific nature of the information presented during the display will enable specialists to draw pretty definite conclusions and get a full idea of our chemical weapons system.

The staff of the Shikhany military facility demonstrated the methods used to carry out a toxicological assessment of the toxic agents, which could be used as the basis for solving the specific issue in a future convention. They also demonstrated a mobile complex for destroying chemical weapons—a fine addition to the permanent plants, one of which is now under construction not far from Chapayevsk, in Kuybyshev Oblast.

The advantage of the mobile complex is that it can be taken to any chemical troops' facility. The complex is installed on trucks which can negotiate difficult terrain and it can be adopted for transportation by railroad flatcars, by aircraft, and by ship. It takes 10 hours to set up and is operated by a 17-man team. It can be used to destroy munitions of between 19 and 1,500 kg.

"Techniques for destroying chemical munitions are geared as much as possible to human safety and to making the process closed and ecologically clean," Lieutenant Colonel P. Nikitayev said. "All the operations require the minimum amount of personnel involvement. The toxic agents are neutralized in chambers where a vacuum is maintained so that even if the power is cut off or there is partial depressurization, the operators have time to prevent an emergency. ...Special automatic devices constantly check for contamination of operators' clothing and monitor the state of the atmosphere, soil, and vegetation in the area adjoining the complex."

But how does the destruction of the chemical munitions take place? First the chemical bomb or projectile is placed in the deactivation chamber, a hole is bored in the casing, and the lethal agent is removed. It is analyzed using special chemical laboratory sensors and is then fed into the neutralizer. It is there that the first stage of the transformation takes place—the process of neutralization by the thermochemical method (at a temperature of 110-120 degrees centigrade). What comes out at the other end is nontoxic compounds. It is estimated that 1 metric ton of toxic agents produces no more than 2 cubic meters of liquid waste. This goes into the next chamber, where it is burned at a higher temperature (1,100-1,200 degrees). The oxides of carbon and hydrogen fluoride

and the water vapor thus formed are already in a concentration that is considerably lower than the public health norms and are not a danger to the environment.

The second day of the foreign delegations' stay at the Shikhany military facility ended with a demonstration of the mobile complex in action, destroying, by way of illustration, an aerial bomb containing sarin. The flight to Moscow was planned for the evening, to be followed by a press conference tomorrow morning on the results of the trip.

GDR, Danish Leaders Back Arms Initiatives
PM081023 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[Roundup of TASS, PRAVDA correspondent reports: "New Prospects"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet initiatives aimed at delivering mankind from the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and ensuring disarmament and the consolidation of peace and international cooperation are evoking an increasingly broad reaction throughout the world. The news media continue to comment on M.S. Gorbachev's Murmansk speech, describing the Soviet proposals as an example of the new thinking which accords with the realities of the present-day world.

Berlin—The achievement of accords between the USSR and the United States on signing an agreement concerning the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles is an important step which inspires hope. It paves the way toward new solutions of the disarmament problem as a whole, said E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a ceremony to present high state awards to production pacesetters on the occasion of the GDR's national day, Republic Day. The removal of nuclear weapons from Europe would be a great step toward the removal of these weapons throughout the planet. The GDR fully supports the proposals put forward in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk. Their implementation is of exceptional importance for the strengthening of security throughout the world. [passage omitted]

Copenhagen—Prime Minister Poul Schluter of Denmark has expressed satisfaction with the agreement in principle reached by the USSR and the United States on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. He was delivering a government statement at the session of the Danish Folketing (parliament) assembled for its first session after the parliamentary elections held in Denmark in September.

Reykjavik Meeting Discusses Arms Proposals
LD071225 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Copenhagen October 7 TASS—"One year since Reykjavik" is the subject of an international round-table meeting organized in the Icelandic capital by the International Liaison Forum of Forces Committed to Peace.

The two-day meeting was attended by representatives of 17 countries of four continents and a number of Icelandic public organizations.

During a frank dialogue on a broad range of issues, the participants in the round-table discussion assessed international events that took place following the Reykjavik meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in October 1986.

They noted that the meeting was a starting point for the search for ways to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons. The recent Soviet-American agreement to conclude an accord on eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons was an exceptionally important development, they pointed out.

Iceland's Foreign Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson described the U.S.-Soviet agreement in principle to scrap medium- and shorter-range missiles as a major step forward, opening up opportunities for reversing the nuclear arms race.

Many delegates observed that there existed influential forces opposed to the agreement and that attempts were being made to invigorate the arms race in other fields. Today, as never before, public opinion would play an important role for success of disarmament.

The round-table meeting considered major issues of the peace movement, including the need for new thinking in international policies, renunciation of the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence," activization of the U.N. role, possible consolidation of European security and expansion of cooperation by way of completing with success the Vienna meeting, and establishment of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons in various parts of the world.

During a visit to the Hevdi Villa, the venue of the Soviet-American summit, the participants in the round-table meeting approved the text of their message to Gorbachev and Reagan.

The message described, specifically, the historic INF agreement as meeting the most profound aspirations and efforts of the world's peoples.

U.S. Tests Trident-2 With Dummy Warhead

LD071326 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—The USA carried out another test of the Trident-2 intercontinental ballistic missile. A Pentagon spokesman reported that a three-stage missile with a dummy warhead had been launched on Monday from a launching site at Cape Canaveral, Florida state, to a target in the Atlantic.

Under a test programme started by the USA in January, it is planned to carry out another 13 firings of dummy missiles from ground launching sites, as well as between 5 and 10 firings from submerged submarines. The AP news agency reports that the Trident-2 is the most powerful and sophisticated missile to be supplied to the U.S. Navy late in 1989. The Pentagon plans to create a fleet of 20 such submarines, with each of them carrying 24 such missiles.

Correction to Levin Commentary on Talks

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Levin Comments on Talks," published in the 5 October Soviet Union *Daily Report*, p 8, column two, paragraph one, continued from column one, last sentence: ...U.S. naval strategy in the event of a conflict between the superpowers.

Comparing this position...[replacing indistinct passage]

Pyadyshev on Preparations for Shultz Visit
PM081015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Kuvshinnikov report: "Intensive Preparations Are Under Way. From Your Correspondent at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Excerpt] Intensive preparations are continuing for the final round of consultations between USSR Foreign Minister E. A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. The consultations will open in Moscow 22 October and are to finalize the agenda and date of the next Soviet-American summit, which will be the first visit of a Soviet leader to the United States since 1973.

But what do the preparations consist of in particular, and what range of problems is involved? Replying to your correspondent's question, B. Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, explained that questions relating to strategic offensive weapons are assuming even greater importance than they had before. The attention of the U.S. side is to be drawn specifically to this topic from the angle of our proposals for major —50%— cuts in these type of weapons through conditions of the reinforcement of the ABM Treaty.

The Soviet spokesman especially emphasized our hope that as a result of the upcoming talks in Moscow the joint draft of a treaty on the "global double-zero option" will be wrapped up. There are reasons to expect that by the time of C. Shultz' arrival in Moscow the two countries' delegations in Geneva will have agreed to its text. The pace at which work on the draft is proceeding at the moment makes it possible to express this hope.

Of the 16 or 17 articles that make up the draft treaty, only 2 or 3 remain to be agreed upon. This applies in particular to the article relating to the pledge by each of the two parties not to undertake any diversionary maneuvers to retain nuclear missile weapons in these categories, for instance, by transferring them to third countries. [passage omitted]

Petrovskiy Addresses UN Economic Committee
LD080908 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2005 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Excerpts] New York, 7 Oct (TASS)—The alarming state of the world economy and the need for urgent action to solve the social and economic problems of our time have become the main subject of the general discussion in the second committee (economic and financial issues) of the UN General Assembly. [passage omitted]

Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, stated the need for new approaches to international economic and political relations. A concrete manifestation of new thinking in economics is the concept of international economic security. Based on an awareness of the realities of the contemporary world, it proceeds from the premise that the internationalization of economic problems has a vital need for internationalization of a dialogue directed at a joint search for generally acceptable approaches to their solution. The purpose of universal, constructive dialogue, free from confrontation, which is proposed by us, is to jointly work out a plan for international economic security that would make it possible, on the basis of the objective laws of world economics and the ties formed in the world economy, to further improve them and to give their development a positive direction and a just character. A detonation of the explosive force lurking within the unsettled state of international economic relations, which would be catastrophic for mankind, must not be allowed. It is necessary to ameliorate them, and to transform them into a constructive factor of international cooperation.

PRAVDA 4 October 'International Review'
PM070927 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

["International Review" Column by Vladislav Drobkov]

[Text] October and Peace [subhead]

It is October 1987, another October of the new era which opened in 1917 with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Gauging the importance of this revolution and analyzing current developments in the Soviet Union—the process of restructuring which is under way in our country—people are paying special attention to the impact which Great October has had on the development of the international situation as a whole and on the prospects for resolving the most burning problem of the present time, the problem of preserving life on earth.

Everyone remembers that the first legislative act passed by the Soviet authorities was Lenin's Decree on Peace. Continuing this principled course, proving through actions the inseparable link between the concepts of "socialism" and "peace," it was our country which opened up the prospect of eliminating violence and wars for mankind, and offered the peoples of other countries good-neighborliness, cooperation, disarmament, and the relaxation of international tension.

In the coming weeks progressive mankind everywhere is preparing to mark the 70th anniversary of Great October. Jubilee sessions, Soviet film festivals, trade union rallies, publication of books about the Revolution, and scientific conferences and symposiums—all this is already taking place or will take place in the near future in dozens of countries. The interest in our jubilee and in our experience is augmented by restructuring, by the Soviet Union's foreign policy steps, by the example it sets, and by its initiatives, which inspire peoples with hope that it is possible to break out of the vicious circle of violence and confrontation.

Clearing the way toward a nuclear-free world and toward the equal security of all countries in general, and each country in particular, and switching mankind's resources, currently swallowed up by military preparations, to development—these are the tasks which the Soviet leadership is seeking to resolve through its foreign policy efforts. Its broad range of initiatives to reduce primarily nuclear, but also other types of weapons, right up to their complete elimination, to end nuclear tests, and to forestall the militarization of space is being discussed throughout the world. The Land of October is backing up its intentions with concrete, practical actions. Geneva, Reykjavik, Delhi—these are the most important stages of the path traveled in the recent past.

This policy has already borne some fruit. For the first time in history agreement has been reached in principle on the elimination of two classes of Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons, that is medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. An agreement to this effect is in preparation in Geneva. Furthermore, the logic, the dynamics of the movement toward a secure future are, as it were, prompting us not to rest content with what we have achieved, but to go further. Prospects of progress have emerged also in the sphere of strategic nuclear arms reduction and nuclear weapon test limitation. A real turn for the better is being felt in East-West relations.

During the week which has just ended the principled Soviet course toward strengthening peace through arms reduction and curtailment of military preparations has once again been confirmed in the utterances of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Meeting with representatives of the French public in the Kremlin on Tuesday, M.S. Gorbachev impressively set out our vision of the world and our approaches to the solution of the most acute problems of the present. On Thursday in Murmansk he put forward new initiatives aimed at radical reduction of the level of military confrontation in the north of our planet and the transformation of this region into a zone of peace.

Both the meeting in the Kremlin and the Murmansk speech evoked a great international reaction. Leading news media, prominent politicians and public figures, and the public in many countries are currently discussing the Soviet leader's statements. One characteristic detail is the fact that the flood of reactions contains almost no references to "Soviet propaganda" which were traditional until quite recently. It is not a question of propaganda but of specific, real proposals which cannot be shrugged off.

It must be noted that even people at NATO headquarters are beginning to understand this. According to a *Reuter* correspondent's report from Brussels on Friday, the North Atlantic bloc will study the Soviet proposal that naval activity near the shores of northern Europe be reduced. Although NATO spokesmen hastened to declare that they would not agree to an undermining of the bloc's ability to build up its forces on its "vulnerable northern flank" in the event of a crisis, their readiness to examine the Soviet initiative "within the next few weeks" speaks for itself.

Here is another sign of the times. Many of the reactions recognize that there is an organic link between the internal restructuring of Soviet society, the expansion of democracy and glasnost in the USSR, and the sincere desire of the Soviet leadership to achieve a constructive change for the better in international affairs, to curb the arms race, and to firmly establish the principles of trust, good-neighborliness, and cooperation as the decisive factors in international relations. Even in countries where peoples have been subjected to massive anti-Soviet and anticommunist propaganda for decades and where the USSR has always been depicted as the "enemy," the impact of the Soviet initiatives is being increasingly felt.

In this context the results of a Gallup public opinion poll published in the United States a few days ago are quite indicative. Although 70% of those polled declared that they regard themselves as anticommunist, 79% favored the conclusion of a new agreement on the limitation of nuclear arsenals between Washington and Moscow. During an earlier poll carried out by the same institute 54% of Americans described their attitude to M.S. Gorbachev as "favorable." This is the most positive assessment by Americans of any Soviet leader since World War II.

In my view, this extraordinary public opinion poll result reflects the gradual erosion of the stereotypes of anti-Soviet propaganda even if this erosion is not as speedy or as general as one might wish. Now, on the eve of the 70th anniversary of Great October, our slogan calling for a nuclear-free and nonviolent world is described increasingly rarely as a beautiful but unrealistic dream. The course of history itself has transformed this dream into the only sensible alternative for mankind, into the only lever by means of which it is still possible to stop the planet from sliding into the nuclear abyss. Recognition of this fact is prompting the West and its most sober-minded leaders, whether they like it or not, to adopt a more balanced policy and to change their attitude toward our country. Wherever they live, people can see that the homeland of October has also become the homeland of the new political thinking and the source of initiatives paving the way toward peace. They can see for themselves that socialism is doing everything it can to ensure the survival of mankind and to pave the way toward the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

Reducing To Build Up? [subhead]

The world in which we live is made up of contradictions, of a clash between different tendencies. Against the backdrop of the progressing elaboration of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of two categories of nuclear arms, it is impossible to ignore the attempts of

certain political and military circles of the West to "compensate" for the loss of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles with the buildup of both conventional arms and nuclear potentials.

What is behind these attempts? A real desire to ensure their own security as reliably as possible, or the intention to undermine our security? An evil design, or a relapse into the old thinking which was based on the premise that the more weapons there are, the safer the world? In my view, obsolete dogmas, the appetites of the arms manufacturers, and the notorious inertia of the flywheel of the military machine which was set in motion a long time ago all feature in the approaches of the aforementioned circles. The bearers of this "baggage of the past" are like robots "programmed" to repeat old mistakes. After all, the realities of the changing world have overtaken and left far behind many of the postulates of the prenuclear world which seemed unshakable.

Of course, there are people in the West who are genuinely worried by the prospect of having to manage without the nuclear "protection" of the U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles. There are those who are afraid that this may lead to a "reduction of NATO's defense capability," and "the separation of Europe from America," which the withdrawal of the U.S. missiles from the Old World will allegedly entail. The thesis of the "threatening superiority" of the Warsaw Pact countries over the North Atlantic bloc allies in the sphere of conventional arms is also still effective. Incidentally, the claims about "NATO's unprecedented lag" are clearly exaggerated. As Paul Warnke, the prominent security expert and former head of the U.S. delegation at the SALT II negotiations, noted a few days ago in the newspaper *Newsday*, "the suggested colossal Soviet superiority in conventional arms is largely illusory." K.D. Voigt, the Bundestag SPD [Social Democratic Party] expert on foreign policy questions, last week criticized the system used in the West to calculate the correlation of conventional forces. In his opinion the FRG Government is proceeding from false premises.

However, in view of all these fears, why does NATO not avail itself of the socialist states' proposals on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments by making use of the specific plan put forward for this purpose by the Warsaw Pact countries? Why not compare the military doctrines, ours and NATO's, in order to clarify who, in fact, is threatening whom and how? And, ultimately, why not disband the two opposing military-political groupings altogether, as has also repeatedly been proposed by the socialist countries?

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states are not trying to sidestep these complex questions; they are prepared to discuss and resolve them, to strive for a genuine equilibrium in all categories of armed forces—at the lowest possible level, of course. We are prepared to discuss in a businesslike fashion all the problems which are worrying NATO, including the question of the so-called imbalance in conventional arms. After all, since the Soviet leadership has shown political courage and agreed to meet the West half-way on many of its wishes concerning the nuclear missiles in the two categories subject to elimination, of which we have substantially more, it should also be possible to find a sensible compromise on tanks, aircraft, and even field kitchens. If only the desire for this was mutual.

However, unless the West demonstrates this desire, the impression will be created that it is not the Warsaw Pact countries which need superiority in conventional arms for their "aggressive plans," but rather that the NATO state governments need the claims concerning this superiority in order to justify their own military efforts and to thwart any disarmament initiatives.

The peoples of Europe and the whole world are tired of the burden of military expenditure and the arms race. Sooner or later it will be necessary to come to an agreement on conventional arms too. So why not do it right now, without further delay? The necessary experience, favorable preconditions, and appropriate forums for this do exist. The only thing that is lacking at times is real readiness, practical rather than verbal, on the part of the leading NATO partners, to reduce the arms arsenals and armies on our continent.

This lack of readiness was again in evidence recently during the visit of U.S. Vice President G. Bush to a number of NATO capitals. He came to Europe in order to discuss with the allies the prospects for and possible consequences of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and other aspects of transatlantic relations. His talks in Rome, Paris, Bonn, London, and Brussels have shown that the bloc partners of the United States on the whole welcome the Soviet-U.S. accord.

However, one serious aspect is attracting attention. It is the attempt on the part of some NATO members to obtain Washington's blessing for a further consolidation of the bloc's so-called "European pillar." I am referring to the process of rapprochement and cooperation between the armed forces of the European NATO partners, primarily France and the FRG, which has been developing lately. Both Paris and Bonn are openly hatching plans to set up joint military formations and to extend French "nuclear guarantees" to West Germany. Unprecedented Franco-West German exercises, in which around 75,000 officers and men from the two countries took part, ended a few days ago.

London does not want to remain on the sidelines either. While approving in principle the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, London has declared its unswerving adherence to the NATO doctrine of "flexible response," which allows for the utilization of nuclear weapons, and has reiterated

its intention to continue to build up its own nuclear potential. British and French politicians and generals are already discussing the need for knocking together European nuclear forces.

These questions were discussed, for instance, during the talks held in Paris Friday between the French and British defense ministers. Although the ministers, who are currently meeting almost every month, refrained from commenting themselves, the British and French press paid much attention to their talks. According to the newspapers, we are now talking about increasingly close coordination of the two countries' nuclear arms policy. Paris and London, *Le Monde* writes, are consolidating ties in such strategic spheres as the operations of nuclear-equipped submarines. The possibility of the joint development of a missile for these submarines is being studied. London's *The Times* reports that a conference of representatives of the two countries' defense and foreign ministries is scheduled for October to discuss the coordination of their nuclear strategy.

In principle European politicians are welcoming the agreement on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. At the same time, some of them are calling on Washington to send warships equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles to Europe. The idea that the U.S. Air Force should "lend" B-52 bombers equipped with cruise missiles to West Europe has also been welcomed in NATO quarters....

It is not difficult to see that all these "twists and turns" of the champions of the arms race run counter to the sentiments and aspirations of the international public. At the same time they indicate that despite the first changes for the better, peace and disarmament will still have to be fought for and fought for in earnest.

United States & Canada

Further Reportage on Nikonov Visit, Meetings

Discussions With Reagan

LD071938 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Washington October 7 TASS—Viktor Nikonov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is staying in the United States at the head of a delegation of the commissions for the agro-industrial complex of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was received by President Ronald Reagan in the White House.

Viktor Nikonov conveyed to the U.S. President good wishes from the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Ronald Reagan thanked for them and, in turn, asked similar wishes to be conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Soviet people are engaged in creative labour, Viktor Nikonov said, and welcome the agreement in principle to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles reached recently between the USSR and the United States. There is no doubt that the conclusion of this agreement will impart an impulse to talks on the entire range of disarmament problems, he said further.

Then the Soviet guest dwelt on the interconnection between the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy stressing that the USSR's course in international affairs is now determined more than ever before by the Soviet people's interest in security and lasting peace as an imperative condition of success in the current restructuring of all aspects of society's life in the Soviet Union.

On his part the President of the United States showed much interest in the process of transformations in the USSR, in particular in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex.

Questions related to the state and prospects of development of trade and economic ties between the USSR and the United States, the creation of joint enterprises, scientific-technical cooperation, including in the field of the food and processing industry and the possible participation of American firms in this were also raised in the course of the conversation.

The U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng and the USSR Ambassador in the United States Yuriy Dubinin were present at the conversation that passed in a businesslike and constructive spirit.

Moscow TV Report

LD072042 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent Vladimir Dunayev]

[Text] A delegation of the commission for the agro-industrial complex of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet has arrived in Washington.

[Dunayev] The delegation is headed by Viktor Petrovich Nikonov and was invited by the Agricultural Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. E. de la Garza, chairman of this committee, welcomed the Soviet delegation in Russian:

[Begin recording] [De la Garza] We welcome you as friends, and we hope that when you leave our country our friendship will be even stronger.

[Nikonov] Thank you. [end recording]

[Dunayev] Speaking in reply, comrade Nikonov said, in part:

[Begin Nikonov recording] By making contact with the American people, we believe we can somehow see more closely, with our own eyes, their lives and the results of their work. We can tell them about the lives of the Soviet people and the tasks which we are tackling, the things that concern us, and undoubtedly, we can talk with everyone about peace on this earth, about stepping up the peace struggle, about disarmament, and first and foremost, nuclear disarmament. [end recording]

[Dunayev] The delegation went immediately from the airport to meet Secretary of State George Shultz. This was how the head of the Soviet delegation assessed the conversation immediately after it was over:

[Begin Nikonov recording] Mr Shultz and I had a very cordial conversation. I believe it was based on a serious and profound mutual understanding, and we touched upon the most wide-ranging problems. Naturally, at the forefront was the problem which is of great concern for the entire world—that is how to make, as quickly as possible, that first step along the long and difficult road to nuclear disarmament. [end recording]

[Dunayev] Today in the Congress building, the delegation began an exchange of opinions with members of the Committee on Agriculture of the Congress. The Supreme Soviet deputies will have the chance not only to hear about how the U.S. agro-industrial complex works, but also to see it in action.

To conclude today's reportage here are some pictures taken in the White House less than an hour ago, where a meeting took place between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Reagan Vows Continued Support for Contras

LD080129 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 7 Oct 87

["Reagan—Nicaragua From Washington, Version 1"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington, 7 Oct (TASS)—Correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports the following: Today Reagan made a long speech at the headquarters of the Organization of American States (OAS) in which the stand taken by the U.S. Administration with regard to Central America was again set forth.

The head of the White House acknowledged that the document on ways of settling the conflict in the region and establishing a lasting peace there, which was signed in August in Guatemala by the five presidents of the Central American countries, "contains many elements necessary to ensure a lasting peace and democracy in the region." However, Reagan immediately asserted that the Government of Nicaragua, which already has taken numerous unilateral steps in practice to fulfill the clauses of the Guatemala document, purportedly is not going to observe its conditions.

As stated by the authoritative research organization Western Hemisphere Affairs Committee, accusations of this type represent a "last effort by the Reagan administration to undermine the settlement of the Central American conflict by a diplomatic method," after Nicaragua had taken swift measures to fulfill the clauses of the Guatemala document, an action which has strengthened trust in the Sandinist government in the region and the opposition in Congress to the latest request for aid to the contras.

Arbitrarily assuming the right to dictate to the people of a sovereign state what kind of politics it should pursue, the head of the U.S. Administration once again demanded, in the form of an ultimatum, that the Nicaraguan Government should fulfill the conditions made by the United States. Jim Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress, called them "ridiculous demands that violate the sovereignty of Nicaragua." "It is hard not to come to the conclusion," Wright announced in a conversation with journalists on the eve of the President's speech at the OAS, "that someone among the President's advisers is trying to torpedo the peace process" in Central America.

In his speech, Reagan again stated that his government will never stop providing assistance to the contras. He stressed that the White House would make an official application to Congress regarding the allocation of another $270 million for the contras, for the approval of which he intended to "battle." "I have stated my personal adherence to their struggle and I am not about to alter that stand. Right to my very last breath I will support, work, and campaign for, and assist the cause of the Nicaraguan freedom fighters," said the U.S. President.

U.S. Has Disinformation Section on Nicaragua

PA071224 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 5 Oct 87

[Text] For 4 years, the U.S. State Department has had a section whose main duty is to prepare misinformation about Nicaraguan policy. A proof of this is the results of a special investigation conducted by the U.S. Congress. It is studying the effectiveness of the U.S. State Department's Public Information Section for Latin America and the Caribbean. Experts of this section prepare publications for U.S. newspapers and magazines supporting the aggressive policy of the U.S. Administration regarding Central America.

Near East & South Asia

Defense Minister Sees Off Afghan Counterpart

LD072253 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Oct 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Lieutenant-General Muhammad Rafi', member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and DRA defense minister, who has been in our country on an official visit at the invitation of Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense, left Moscow today. The guest and the people accompanying him were seen off at the airport by the USSR defense minister and other officials. [video shows uniformed men on airport tarmac; Yazov is shown shaking hands with Rafi', behind them are two unidentified officials]

DRA General Notes Pakistani 'Interference'

PM081107 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Pakistan: Bridgehead of Two Aggressions" — boldface passages as published]

[Text] Kabul, 5 Oct — **Since the beginning of this year Pakistani aircraft have violated the DRA's air borders on 23 occasions, while Pakistani artillery have shelled Afghan territory on 33 occasions**, Lieutenant General Muhammad Nabi 'Azimi, DRA first deputy minister of defense, announced. While the Afghan leadership is pursuing a policy of national reconciliation and striving to settle all existing problems with neighboring countries by peaceful means, he said in an interview with the *Bakhtar* news agency, Pakistan is building up its interference in the republic's internal affairs. **The Islamabad**

regime is not only arming and training gangs of extremists and sending them into Afghanistan, but is itself perpetrating acts of armed aggression against the DRA, which is resulting in the deaths of people.

M. N. 'Azimi noted that Pakistan's unfriendly stance toward the DRA is encouraged in every way by Washington. The United States is supplying Islamabad with the latest weapons and equipment, including intelligence gathering apparatus installed on aircraft intruding into Afghan air space.

The DRA invariably holds a principled position of respect for neighboring states and noninterference in their affairs. Afghanistan is entitled to expect a similar approach by Pakistan, M. N. 'Azimi emphasized.

Further on Ambassador Sytenko's Libyan Visit

'Frank' Talks With Al-Talih

LD071459 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Tripoli, 7 Oct (TASS)—The special Soviet envoy, roving ambassador Mikhail Sytenko, today met the secretary of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, Jadallah 'Azzuz al-Talhi. During a lengthy conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of traditional friendly relations between the two countries and of mutual understanding, there was a frank [otkrovennyy] and objective exchange of opinions on topical problems put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees for a Secure World." The sides discussed the results of the agreements recently achieved in Washington during the meetings and talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and U.S. leaders. Certain issues of Soviet-Libyan cooperation were also touched upon, as were other issues of mutual interest. Pogos Akopov, Soviet ambassador in Libya attended the meeting.

Received by Al-Qadhdhafi

LD081136 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0728 GMT 8 Oct 87

[Text] Tripoli, 8 Oct (TASS)—Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, yesterday evening received M. D. Sytenko, roving ambassador and special representative of the Soviet leadership, who is in Tripoli.

On the instructions of the Soviet leadership M. D. Sytenko expounded the basic provisions of the article by M. S. Gorbachev entitled "Reality and the Guarantees of a Safe World," and the essence of the proposals by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in creating a comprehensive system of peace and international security. He also briefed him on the Soviet-U.S. accords, achieved during the recent talks in Washington by E. A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and USSR foreign minister in Washington.

The Libyan leader highly assessed of M. S. Gorbachev's efforts, aimed at ensuring peace and security on Earth, and expressed his support for the Soviet peace initiatives.

M. al-Qadhdhafi expressed satisfaction with the state of Soviet-Libyan relations and his high opinion of the Soviet Union's support for the Libyan people's struggle to strengthen their revolutionary gains and against the aggressive machinations of imperialism.

P. S. Akopov, ambassador of the USSR to Libya, participated in the conversation.

AKSO Conference Criticizes Israeli Policies

PM071457 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 87 p 9

["Own Information" report under the rubric "The Truth About Human Rights: Can We Remain Indifferent to the Occupiers? No!"]

[Text] This is how the question in the headline was put by certain participants in a press conference held on the initiative of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public (AKSO) which took place at the USSR Journalists' Union last week. Leading figures and activists from the AKSO, the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa, and APN, scientists, and Soviet journalists took part in the conference. Foreigners, including Arabs, and journalists accredited in Moscow also attended.

The scandalous violations of human rights not only on Arab territories occupied by Israel since June 1967 but also in the Israeli state itself and the state terrorism practiced by Israel outside its borders were the topic of discussion. To be precise the amoral occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan, East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip seized 20 years ago as a result of the June war of 1967 — an ongoing crime in both form and essence. A curious detail — the participants in the press conference were shown a map of Israel where the captured Arab lands were included. Do you know what the mapmakers called them? "Controlled territories"! This is one of the examples of Israeli politicians' deviousness!

The participants in the press conference were reminded that the Soviet Union is resolutely opposed to Israel's "historical right" to Palestinian and Arab lands; to national autonomy which extends only to Palestinians but not to Palestinian lands, a kind of autonomy invented in Israel at the beginning of the seventies; and to encroachments on the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination. Moscow rejects the annexation of Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, unilaterally proclaimed by Israel, and the creation of Israeli settlements both on the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and also around East Jerusalem. They must be eliminated

just as Yamit, an Israeli settlement on the Sinai Peninsula, was leveled to the ground when the Israeli Army left there. We condemn the constant violations of human rights practiced in the occupied territories by the Israeli authorities, including the military authorities. The Soviet Union continues to support the UN resolution on Zionism as a form of racism.

Then there were questions, often sharp and even unexpected questions, motivated by the allegations that the Soviet Union is on the point of establishing diplomatic relations with Israel. In fact this summer Soviet consular workers visited Israel and gave explanations there of Soviet policy in the Near East and with regard to Israel itself. However, they had precise tasks regarding Soviet property and the fate of Soviet citizens living and working in Israel. In particular, those who work in the Religious Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was explained that the Soviet Union has not established either consular or diplomatic relations with the state of Israel, whose aggressive policy has shown no signs of changing, as a result of the visit. Contacts with Israel may be maintained at various levels, including those in connection with the preparation of an international conference on the Near East.

A Syrian journalist asked: Why does the Soviet media print so little material about the situation in the occupied Arab territories? Does this not mean that the Soviet Union is abandoning and may even have already abandoned the Arabs? Nonsense? Of course, although it is true that little material is printed. This alarming strand in the sentiments of certain Arab journalists should probably be heeded.

Sub-Saharan Africa

CPSU's Shirsin Leads Delegation to Angola

Visits Angolan Party School

PM081123 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Luanda, 30 Sep—A CPSU delegation headed by G.C. Shirshin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Tuva CPSU Obkom, is in Angola. It visited the A. Neto national party school, which trains Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party leading cadres.

Speaks at Press Conference

MB071751 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Press conference by Grigoriy Shirshin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee; at the 4 February International Airport in Luanda at the end of his visit to Angola; on 7 October—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Unidentified journalist] The talks you held with the Angolan authorities, at the end of which an accord on party cooperation [words indistinct].

[Shirshin in Russian fading into Portuguese translation] (?We discussed party issues, namely) ideology, leadership, and economic, and social development. [words indistinct] the relations between our parties, and cooperation. [words indistinct] We also discussed the development of relations between our (?parties). The talks we held with the Angolan comrades were very interesting and took place in a very friendly atmosphere. Relations between our parties will be expanded. All this will serve to assist in the various tasks the USSR is carrying out in Angola.

We agreed there are new prospects to utilize [words indistinct]. We also agreed that [words indistinct] it is necessary to tackle concrete issues. In October and November, we will assess these issues, and our assessment will be the basis for a plan of cooperation between the two parties for 1988.

We also discussed developing relations between our regional organizations and the party provincial committees. Accordingly, we discussed the development of relations and exchange of experiences in the sector of ideology. Other areas still need tackling, but this will be covered by the plan of cooperation to be signed at a later stage. The CPSU intends to further develop our cooperation.

During our visit to Angola we studied aspects of [words indistinct] the relations between our parties. We are (?convinced) our party and the MPLA-Labor Party (?will) strengthen cooperation.

[Unidentified journalist] Did you hold any talks with [words indistinct] the People's Assembly?

[Shirshin] Yes, we held talks with deputies of the People's Assembly. We also held talks with deputies of the Namibe Provincial Assembly and other (?areas). Our talks were very interesting. The comrades spoke kindly of the activities of the people's assemblies, namely their tasks and the problems they are currently facing. We were very impressed with the work of the comrades deputies for the (?well-being) of the people and workers. We also discussed the activities of the grass-roots organizations, namely the Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the Organization of Angolan Women, and others. We think the organs of people's power have been playing an important role in strengthening the independence and freedom of Angola and its people. They also assist in a number of economic and social problems currently faced by Angolan society. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified journalist] [words indistinct] Angola and the USSR?

[Shirshin] Relations are excellent and we have a lot to talk about. First of all, we have a very good impression of the Angolan people and the Angolan workers. They are an excellent people. The Angolans are patriotic and work

unselfishly to solve important socioeconomic and development tasks, and to defend their fatherland. They are implementing the decisions of the historic Second MPLA-Labor Party Congress. The Angolan workers and party members fully understand the shortcomings and complex problems they face. They are overcoming these problems with great resolve. They want to transform their country into a developed power with international prestige, so that Angola may play a greater role in international affairs. [end recording]

Delegation Ends Visit

MB071940 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Excerpt] The Soviet delegation led by Grigoriy Shirshin, party first secretary of the Tuva ASSR and member of the CPSU Central Committee [title as heard], who had been on a visit to Angola since 28 September, returned to his country today. During its stay in Angola the Soviet delegation held talks with the Angolan authorities and toured a number of projects in Namibe Province. [passage omitted]

Agricultural Delegation Visits Ethiopia

PM081031 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 Oct 87 p 3

[TASS report: "Visit to Ethiopia"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 5 Oct—The Soviet Union's fraternal aid plays a very important role in the efforts of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia to eliminate its economic backwardness and achieve self-sufficiency with regard to foodstuffs. This was said by Yoseph Muleta, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) Central Committee and minister of state farms, at the opening of talks today with the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee delegation led by V.N. Ignatov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee.

The talks will center on ways to accelerate the implementation of joint projects in agriculture, water resources, and a number of other areas of the Ethiopian economy.

East Europe

Dobrynin, Medvedev Receive BCP's Stanishev

LD071543 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1420 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Announcer-read report]

[Text] Comrade Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was in Mosocw on a working visit between 5 and 7 October at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the course of the conversations Comrade Stanishev had with Comrades Dobrynin and Medvedev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, which passed in a comradely and cordial atmosphere, there was an exchange of views on questions of cooperation between the CPSU and the BCP.

Bulgarian Leaders Receive Vedernikov 6 Oct

PM081027 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch: "Relations Are Developing"]

[Text] Sofia, 6 Oct—T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, received today G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is on a visit here. During their conversation the increasing development of Bulgarian-Soviet relations and the deepening of all-around cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of the economy was noted with satisfaction. The great importance for improved socialist economic integration of direct production contacts and joint enterprises was emphasized.

G.G. Verdernikov was also received by G. Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

Reportage on GDR 'Republic Day' Jubilee

Yazov Greets Counterpart

PM081029 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Oct 87 First Edition p 1

[Defense Minister Yazov Greetings to GDR Counterpart on Anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces and on my own account I send to you and to all servicemen of the National People's Army cordial congratulations on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the GDR's formation.

The 38 years of the existence of the German state of workers and peasants have been marked by major achievements by the GDR people in socialist building. We are sincerely pleased at the impressive successes scored by the republic's working people under the SED's leadership in the development of the economy, science, and culture.

We note with great gratification that the National People's Army, in unbreakable alliance with the fraternal armies from the Warsaw Pact states, mounts a reliable guard over the peaceful creative labor of the GDR people and the entire socialist community.

I wish the servicemen of the GDR National People's Army further successes in combat and political training in the interests of strengthening the defense capability of their socialist motherland.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister

Moscow Meeting Marks Day

PM071329 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Fraternal Bonds"]

[Text] The spring that feeds the friendship between the Soviet and GDR peoples is socialist internationalism, the unity of CPSU and SED positions, and their common ideals and aims. Participants in a formal meeting held in Moscow on 6 October to mark this fraternal country's national day — Republic Day — talked about their desire to move forward together along the path of building socialist society, to defend this society together, and likewise to defend peace together.

We are celebrating this day on the threshold of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the greatest event this century, G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, said. It has had an enormous effect on the fate of people the world over, including the people of the GDR. The formation of the Republic would have been inconceivable without the October Revolution, the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War, and our liberation from fascism. Today our countries' peoples are united by bonds of inviolable friendship and cooperation. The ambassador talked about the GDR people's support for the USSR's constructive foreign policy initiatives.

G. S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V. K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations took part in the meeting. A German-Soviet Friendship Society delegation was also present.

G. Koenig held a reception to mark the anniversary of the GDR's formation the same day.

The reception was attended by G. S. Tarazevich, L. A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

The GDR ambassador to the USSR and embassy personnel visited the V. I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath.

A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Friendship Society Greets GDR

LD061820 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 GMT 6 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct (ADN)—The GDR is celebrating its 38th National Day as a politically stable, dynamically growing industrial state, Karatay Turysov, secretary of the AUCCTU and deputy chairman of the society for friendship with the GDR, stressed in Moscow on Tuesday at a ceremony to mark GDR National Day.

The speaker paid tribute to the all-round, fraternal cooperation between the two countries. Together with the USSR and the other socialist states, he went on to say, the GDR consistently supports the consolidation of positive trends and the anchoring of the new thinking in international affairs, an overcoming of confrontation, and the development of a nuclear weapons-free world. The results of the recent visit by Erich Honecker to the FRG are evidence of the GDR's great international authority.

GDR Ambassador Gerd Koenig recalled at the ceremony the firm determination declared by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev to do everything for a deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two states and peoples. He said the Communists, the citizens of the GDR are proud that for a good half of the time since the Great October, a socialist German state has been advancing side by side with the USSR and the other fraternal countries.

Taking part in the ceremony were Georgiy Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, first deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the joint Forces of the Warsaw Pact states; and Valentina Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

A. Adzhubey Inteviewed by Hungarain Daily

AU071226 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP Supplement in Hungarian 3 Oct p 5

[Interview with Aleksey Adzhubey, Khruschev's son-in-law and former chief editor of several Soviet journals, by Correspondent Laszlo N. Sandor: "Interview with Aleksey Adzhubey Whom They Forgot—The Happy Months of Renewing His Youth"—in Moscow, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Laszlo] I had the opportunity to talk with Aleksey Adzhubey in Moscow last week; Adzhubey is now 63 and recently became a member of the editorial staff of *Soviet Union*. [passage omitted]

How are you? How do you feel, both personally and politically?

[Adzhubey] Thank you, I am well on both counts. The stormy activity following the 27th CPSU Congress, and particularly this year's party plenum, captivated not only me but also my entire generation, whose activity at the time was closely related to the 20th CPSU Congress that had brought renewal to the life of the CPSU. The current reorganization is marked by Mikhail Gorbachev's name. Of course, here we are not talking about a single person. Gorbachev himself said a personality means nothing if it does not reflect a timely social need. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] Could it be that your entire generation took a clear-cut stand in favor of economic and social reform?

[Adzhubey] In intellectual life, but I speak primarily about the press because I know press life well, there are many people who cheered at the time of the 20th CPSU Congress and then also cheered at the guidelines of the 27th CPSU Congress, which essentially reevaluated the 20th CPSU Congress; they are doing the same now in a totally opposing situation. Many people were who once Protestants became Orthodox later, and they want a change to take place without any real change in their lives, because change is uncomfortable and they like comfort. The atmosphere of the last 2 decades favored those people who were able to adjust and go along with the prosperity. At the time, many of them seemed to be faithful fighters for renewal, but in the period of stagnation, as the heads of various creative associations were corrupted by rank and decorated with medals, they hindered every possible development. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] It transpires from our discussion so far that you regard the concepts formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress as a continuation of the concepts formulated at the 20th CPSU Congress, the congress of the "thaw". Is that true?

[Adzhubey] Yes, this is precisely so. Both congresses had society's self-purification on the agenda. Only our biased ideological enemies do not see that this intentionally repeated self-purification is not a sign of weakness of communism; on the contrary, it proves its vitality. This intention is not forced upon us from, outside but by the internal driving force of our society. [passage omitted]

Today the mood of the country is undoubtedly less enthusiastic than in mid-fifties. At that time the population began work with much greater enthusiasm and optimism, because the people could count only on better times to come. Those who survived the sufferings of the war and the subsequent hardships of the postwar period had great hopes. What does the current reform promise? An increase in the prices of housing and consumer goods, loss of jobs, and the closing of factories. This is a big price to pay for the expected development. But we cannot continue the old comfort. Maintaining conformism would have led to a distortion in society's awareness. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] No doubt it must have been difficult for you to be forced into long years of passive life. Previously you were known to be a passionate editor of great work capacity....

[Adzhubey] [Passage omitted] I now live with the happy passion of publication. I have a book ready to be published: "Russia: Times, Destinies, People". I tried to depict here the difficult and contradictory life of Soviet revolutionaries, without any adornments and idealization. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] However, your days of glory were those 10 years when you were chief editor at *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*. Do you not feel nostalgic about this period?

[Adzhubey] The question is not quite correct. I was obsessed with work, and I have always been of the opinion that a leader — no matter what institution he is leading — should be the tank that charges in the battle for the ideas of the age, a tank carrying the infantry after him. But I do not have any nostalgic feeling for such leadership. [passage omitted]

Believe me, the years of forced silence have been instructive and useful. In fact, I should be grateful to those who did not try to bribe me with the editorial position of a secondary newspaper. They did not tempt me, so I could not commit a sin. I can be precisely the same person as I used to be at that time. I did not have to adjust for small advantages or give up my political ideas and personality. Thus, everything I say and write is genuine.... With this, I think, I have said everything essential about myself.... [passage omitted]

West Europe

Dobrynin Visits West Germany 8 Oct

LD080755 Moscow TASS in English 0724 GMT 8 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 8 TASS - Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the Central Committee fo the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), left Moscow for the Federal Republic of Germany by air today at the invitation of leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

At the airport he was seen off by Georgiy Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and by senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

To Meet With Kohl, Genscher

DW081038 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by "HLS:" "Dobrynin Visits the Federal Republic"]

[Text] Bonn, 7 October—Anatoliy Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary in charge of international affairs, is visiting the Federal Republic from Thursday this week through Monday, at the invitation of former SPD Chairman Willy Brandt. Brandt's successor Vogel renewed the invitation. Dobrynin is known to be an expert on U.S. affairs. At the Federal Government's request, he will meet Federal Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher. He will also particularly honor the political party that invited him. Among others, he will meet party and Bundestag Group Chairman Vogel, as well as deputy party chairmen Rau and Lafontaine as minister presidents of North-Rhine Westphalia and Saarland, where he will also go. In Rhineland Palatinat, he will not only visit Karl Marx's house in Trier but will be received by Minister President Bernhard Vogel (CDU), the SPD chairman's brother. In Baden-Wuerttemberg, he will meet Minister-President Spaeth (CDU) and the Social Democratic top candidate Spoeri.

Further on Visit of Finland's Koivisto

Talks With Gromyko 7 Oct

PM081017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 87 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Talk at the Kremlin"]

[Text] Andrey Gromyko, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, had a conversation in the Kremlin on 7 October with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto.

Andrey Gromyko said at the start of the talk that the Soviet leadership views very positively yesterday's talks between the Soviet and Finnish delegations and the conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Mauno Koivisto. These talks and the conversation show relations between the two neighboring states have reached a high level. They also show that the two sides are convinced the state of relations accords with the interests of the two states and the world as a whole.

The Soviet side stressed that our leadership also highly assesses the fact that these relations are imbued with a spirit of stability, excluding the fluctuations [perepady] which have arisen in the desire of both the USSR and Finland to consistently implement a policy of good-neighborliness.

Mauno Koivisto stated that he highly appreciated the talks and the conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. The president believes good-neighborliness and peaceful cooperation accord with both countries' interests. He spoke approvingly of the Soviet Union's proposals to strengthen peace and create a constructive, peaceful situation in the north of Europe and the Arctic.

The two sides stressed the usefulness of various forms of consultations between the interested states on questions raised in the Soviet Union's proposals. The Soviet side noted in particular the importance of those proposals set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's recent speech in Murmansk.

Andrey Gromyko expressed satisfaction that Finland, in the person of President Mauno Koivisto, supports the Soviet initiatives to strengthen security in the north European region or, as they were called by the foreign press, the Soviet peace plan for the Arctic. One of Gorbachev's proposals is to start consultations between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO on reducing military activity in the North Atlantic, the Arctic Seas, and the Baltic Sea.

A.A. Gromyko stressed that it would be unjustified if any fears or doubts were expressed in these or any other Nordic countries over this or other Soviet proposals adopted even before this proposal was discussed with representatives of the appropriate states. This applies especially to creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. It used to be the case that essentially there was no exchange of opinions on a Soviet proposal, and in certain circles of northern European countries, doubts began to be expressed about a proposal that had been submitted. It would be a good thing if this unjustified series of doubts were reduced, and even better, if they disappeared altogether.

"We call upon the governments of the northern European countries to sit down at the conference table with us in order to discuss these proposals in a businesslike spirit," A.A. Gromyko stated. This would be the speediest way to conduct international affairs.

The sides stressed the significance of economic and trade ties between the Soviet Union and Finland. The two sides drew attention to the need to seek ways to extend ties in these areas.

The Soviet side, in particular, voiced a desire that the appropriate business circles in Finland show an interest not only in their exports to the Soviet Union but in Soviet imports our country offers.

A.A. Gromyko said: The USSR highly appraises that which is being implemented by Finnish builders in contracts with the corresponding organizations in our country. The quality of the Finnish side's work is worthy of considerable praise.

The Finnish president accepted such an opinion with gratitude.

M.Koivisto spoke positively about the discussion on 6 October with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The discussion between A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and M. Koivisto, president of Finland, passed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere.

Participating in the discussion were: from the Soviet side—A.G. Kovalev, first deputy USSR foreign minister, and V.M. Sobolev, USSR ambassador to Finland; and from the Finnish side—Kalevi Sorsa, deputy premier and Finnish foreign minister, and Aarno Karhilo, Finnish ambassador to the USSR.

Welcomed in Alma-Ata

LD071401 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Alma-Ata October 7 TASS—The president of Finland Mauno Koivisto and his wife today arrived in Alma-Ata, the capital of Soviet Kazakhstan.

The welcoming party included First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Gennadiy Kolbin and his wife, and other officials.

Mauno Koivisto is staying in the USSR on an official visit from Monday at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Swedish Defense Minister Meets Soviet Envoy

LD072222 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1749 GMT 7 Oct

[Text] Stockholm, 7 October (TASS)—Roine Carlsson, Swedish defense minister, also presently serving as Swedish foreign affairs minister, received Oleg Grinevskiy, ambassador at large. On the instructions of the Soviet leadership, Grinevskiy explained ideas raised in M.S. Gorbachev's article "The Reality and the Guarantees of a Safe World," on creating a comprehensive system of international security. The state of Soviet-U.S. nuclear and space weapons talks, other disarmament issues, and turning Northern Europe into a zone of peace and cooperation were discussed.

UK Conservatives Continue Military Strategy

LD071707 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1105 GMT 7 Oct

[Text] Blackpool, 7 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Peskov and Sergey Terekhov report:

The ruling Conservative Party of Great Britain and the Tory government intend to continue approaching the solution of the major international problems exclusively from a position of strength and to transform Britain's build-up of military might into an instrument of foreign policy. This conclusion follows from the participants' speeches in the annual conference of the Conservative Party in Blackpool during the debate on questions of defense policy.

A speech was made at the conference by Defense Secretary of Great Britain George Younger. He called the Soviet-U.S. agreement in principle on scrapping INF and operational-tactical missiles "an historic step." At the same time, the minister put forward the traditional theory of British Conservatives that it is supposedly only the "hard" policy of the West that deployed [razvernuvshego] cruise missiles and Pershing-2's on the continent of Europe and forced the Soviet Union to sit down at the negotiating table. He also let it be understood that even in the event of a successful conclusion of negotiations between East and West on the reduction of nuclear weapons, London does not intend to change its present military strategy, based on a build-up of so-called "independent nuclear deterrent forces."

Having announced the Tory cabinet's readiness to hold a "constructive dialogue" on reducing all types of arms, Younger immediately made a proviso, stressing such a process allegedly harbored a threat to Britain's and NATO's security. In proof of his claim, he cited the well-known thesis of the imaginary "superiority of the Soviet Union in the field of conventional arms and chemical weapons." The head of the War Department also proposed more measures to build up Britain's military might. In particular, he announced the official placing of an order to commence construction of a second atomic submarine on which Trident first-strike nuclear missiles will be sited. The minister also announced the creation of another regiment of modern Chieftain tanks, the purchase of new armored carriers for the British Army on the Rhine, the construction of four Type-23 battle frigates, and the RAF's acquisition of two squadrons of Tornado fighter-bombers by the year 1990.

At the same time he made attacks on the opposition parties and antiwar movement of the country. In his logic, only the Tories now represent Britain's "true peace movement."

The words of the British minister fully reflect the general trend of policy of the Conservatives on questions of defense: On the one hand, they officially declare their adherence to the cause of peace and disarmament, and on the other, they poison these declarations with the venom of suspicion, mistrust, and militancy, in the spirit of the "cold war."

Soviet Delegation Talks With Europarliament

LD071950 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Brussels October 7 TASS—The visit to Europarliament by a delegation of the USSR parliamentary group and the Soviet Committee for European Security and

Cooperation continues. It began on Tuesday on the invitation of the group of Socialists, the biggest political group in this body of the European Economic Community.

The very first working contacts with the Socialist group's leadership revealed mutual understanding on pressing international problems, in particular on questions of preserving peace and disarmament. The leadership of the group stated that it "fully shares the Soviet stand on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, shows understanding of the latest Soviet disarmament initiatives, supports the Soviet proposals to liquidate the stockpiles of chemical weapons and welcomes the forthcoming signing of the Soviet-American agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which will create a new, more favourable situation in the world".

At a meeting with Soviet members of parliament the chairman of the group Rudi Arndt stated that "we respond to the Soviet disarmament initiatives with much hope and a feeling of approval, and welcome them. These initiatives help the peoples find reasonable forms of peaceful coexistence under the common European roof. The position taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on questions of disarmament is clear and precise. We agree that it is necessary to free Europe from the burden of nuclear armaments as quickly as possible".

In their discussions with the Soviet delegation representatives of the group of Socialists stressed that it was also necessary to solve the question of conventional armaments since Europe is oversaturated with them.

Representatives of Socialist and Social Democratic parties of EEC countries declared for the pursuance by the governments of their countries of a policy of peaceful coexistence with socialist states, first of all with the Soviet Union, for raising this policy to the rank of an all-European one. They stressed the urgent need of establishing normal relations between the CMEA and the EEC noting that this would promote stability in Europe and accord with the interests of both sides.

The West European Socialists expressed satisfaction with the USSR'S policy in respect of Western Europe noting that the USSR viewed it as an equal partner. "We have had a frank, honest and constructive discussion", the Socialist MPS told the Soviet representatives.

The Soviet delegation had a meeting with the Chairman of Europarliament Henry Plumb. He expressed "optimism as regards the prospects of developing contacts between the two parliaments". On noting the positive changes in Europe and in the world he mentioned "the USSR's big contribution to solving questions of security" and spoke highly of the agreement in principle reached by the USSR and the United States on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. During the meeting the head of the Soviet delegation Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and chairman of the parliamentary group of the USSR, conveyed to Henry Plumb an invitation from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to send an official delegation of Europarliament to the Soviet Union. The invitation was received with gratitude.

Natural Gas Agreement Signed With Greece

LD072223 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Athens October 7 TASS—An agreement on deliveries of Soviet natural gas to Greece was signed here today. For the Soviet side the document was signed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Veniamin Korolyov and for the Greek side by Minister of Industry, Power and Technology Anastasios Peponis.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further on Shevardnadze L. America Visit

Ends Visit to Uruguay

LD071541 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Montevideo October 7 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and Enrique Iglesias, foreign minister of Uruguay, have signed an act on the exchange of notes in which the governments of the two countries inform each other of their approval of the agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation.

In this connection, the ministers signed a programme of cultural and scientific exchanges for 1987-1988.

Shevardnadze held a press conference for local and foreign journalists on the results of his official visit to Uruguay.

Shevardnadze left Uruguay today. At the airport, he was seen off by Foreign Minister Iglesias and other officials.

Uruguayan Media Coverage

For Uruguayan and international reportage on the visit of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Uruguay, see the South America section, subsection Uruguay, of the 6 October Latin America *Daily Report* and subsequent issues.

Joint Communique Issued
PM081100 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Oct 87 Second Edition p 4

["Soviet-Uruguayan Joint Communique"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, was in Uruguay on an official visit 5-7 October 1987, at the invitation of the government of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

During his stay in Montevideo E.A. Shevardnadze was received by President Julio Maria Sanguinetti, to whom he handed a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The message notes that the first visit to Uruguay by a foreign minister of the USSR is an indication of the widening of all-around cooperation between the two states.

Going on to assess the international situation, M.S. Gorbachev emphasizes that in its practical actions the Soviet Union demonstrates sincere adherence to the cause of peace, and will continue to struggle consistently, together with all peace-loving forces, for the attainment of concrete accords on all aspects of disarmament and the strengthening of international security.

Peaceful coexistence between states, the message says, is the only reasonable alternative for mankind in the nuclear and space age. Proceeding from this premise, the USSR has put forward the idea of creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The Soviet Union values Uruguay's constructive approach to the key problems of today and its readiness to make a contribution to the settlement of crisis situations on the basis of just, mutually acceptable solutions.

M.S. Gorbachev notes with satisfaction the growth of trust and mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Uruguay, and comes out in favor of preserving and maintaining everything positive that has been achieved in Soviet-Uruguayan relations, giving them an additional boost in various spheres of cooperation.

For his part, the president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay expressed gratitude for the message and handed a reply message to the minister. In it he noted that the two countries provide graphic evidence that states with different sociopolitical systems can maintain peaceful and constructive relations, mutually respecting their differences and supporting their coinciding views.

In the message he emphasizes the economic importance of arms reduction, which will make it possible to channel considerable resources into the production sphere in the developing countries.

He also points to the major developments that have taken place in Central America, which a few months ago seemed very difficult or almost impossible to achieve. The president notes that the process of democratization is continuing to establish itself in Latin America, despite the difficult trials many of the countries have had to overcome.

President J.M. Sanguinetti emphasizes that Uruguay is following with tremendous interest the reforms the USSR is carrying out within the framework of the restructuring of its economy, as well as the close link between these reforms and the Soviet Union's new foreign policy.

During the conversation President J.M. Sanguinetti confirmed the invitation to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to pay an official visit to Uruguay at a time to be determined by mutual agreement. E.A. Shevardnadze, for his part, confirmed the Soviet Government's invitation to President J.M. Sanguinetti to pay an official visit to the USSR in the near future.

The USSR foreign minister called on Vice President Enrique Tarigo and Victor Cortasso, chairman of the House of Representatives. He laid a wreath at the monument to Uruguay's national hero, General Jose G. Artigas.

E.A. Shevardnadze had talks with Uruguayan Foreign Minister Enrique V. Iglesias, which took place in the constructive and amicable atmosphere in which the two countries' relations are developing.

The ministers once again reaffirmed their countries' firm adherence to the norms of international law and the basic principles of international coexistence, such as the sovereign equality of states, the peaceful resolution of disputes, the banning of the use of force or the threat of its use, compliance with international agreements and treaties, respect for territorial integrity, the self-determination of peoples, and noninterference in states' internal affairs.

They reaffirmed adherence to and support for the United Nations, emphasizing its importance for maintaining peace and promoting international cooperation and mutual understanding.

In the course of a thorough exchange of opinions on a wide range of international problems, which made it possible to define those on which a coincidence or proximity of the two countries' positions exists, profound concern was expressed, in particular, about the persisting tension in the world and the threat posed by the continuing arms race, in particular the nuclear arms race. The two sides pointed to the dangerous nature of the concept of nuclear deterrence for mankind's future, and reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of building a nuclear-free world.

The Soviet side drew attention to practical questions of the implementation of the program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction by the end of this century, put forward in the 15 January 1986 Statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on creating a comprehensive system of international security, and the concept of building a nuclear weapons-free and nonviolent world. The USSR foreign minister spoke of the results of the accords reached at the recent Washington talks, the signing of an agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles between the USSR and the United States this year, and also the commencement, by the end of this year, of full-scale bilateral talks on the limitation and ultimately the complete cessation of nuclear tests. The Uruguayan side assessed highly the accords reached, and noted that they open up the possibility of beginning progress toward real nuclear arms reduction and toward the ultimate goal—complete nuclear disarmament.

The sides came out against the spread of the arms race to space. It was noted that the existing agreements and treaties in the arms limitation sphere, among them the ABM Treaty, should be observed and fulfilled.

The two ministers are in favor of convening a special UN General Assembly session in 1988 to examine disarmament problems. The need was also stressed for the speediest conclusion of an international agreement on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons.

The ministers consider it necessary to step up the discussion at the United Nations, the Disarmament Conference, and also other international forums with a view to the speediest attainment of concrete agreements ensuring the curtailment of the arms race on earth and its prevention in space, as well as the lessening of the danger of military confrontation.

The ministers spoke of the need for international cooperation in the use of outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes. The USSR foreign minister explained the substance of the proposals put forward by his country on setting up an international space center for space research with the participation of the developing countries.

The need was emphasized for the creation of nuclear-free zones in the world as one means of achieving the total elimination of nuclear weapons. In this context the USSR foreign minister expressed support for the efforts of Latin American countries within the framework of the treaty banning nuclear weapons in Latin America (the Tlatelolco Treaty). The two countries came out in favor of creating a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic.

The two ministers spoke out in favor of respect for human rights and the establishment of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. The sides came out for the further improvement of international humanitarian ties and human freedoms. They emphasized the need to deepen cooperation in the sphere of culture, information, education, and contacts between people, institutions, and organizations.

The sides expressed their profound concern at the escalation of acts of terrorism, including state terrorism. They resolutely condemn all forms of terrorism and deem it necessary to combat them by all legal means.

Expressing concern at the spread of drug addiction and the illegal drug trade in the world, the sides declared their readiness to do their utmost to promote, at both national and international levels, the struggle against this dangerous social phenomenon.

During the talks the urgent need was emphasized to strengthen the principles of international cooperation and solidarity with a view to achieving progress in the cause of establishing a new international economic order.

In this context the two ministers pointed to the indissoluble interdependence of all states, which should lead to the creation of a more just and equal multilateral economic system that would guarantee the economic security of all countries.

Discussing questions connected with the situation in various regions of the globe, the sides expressed serious concern at the persistence and exacerbation of regional conflicts, and expressed the conviction that the settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of international law would help to lessen tension and strengthen universal security and trust between states.

The Soviet side noted Uruguay's positive contribution to the cause of normalizing the situation in the Central American region within the framework of the Contadora process, emphasizing the importance of broad international support for the creation of favorable conditions for a political settlement in the region in accordance with the interests of the peoples of Central American countries on the basis of strict respect for the generally acknowledged provisions of the UN Charter and international law.

The ministers expressed their governments' support for the agreements reached at the meeting of heads of state of five Central American countries in Guatemala, and declared their readiness to promote all efforts aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the region.

The two sides expressed profound concern at the situation taking shape in southern Africa, which requires an urgent peaceful settlement, and condemned the apartheid regime, which belittles human dignity and does not

acknowledge the persistent appeals of the international community to stop this discriminatory practice. They again reaffirmed the need for the speediest granting of independence to Namibia on the basis of the relevant UN General Assembly resolutions.

The sides came out in favor of the convocation of an international conference under UN auspices with the participation of all interested parties, purposed to putting an end to the conflict in the Near East and achieving a peaceful, just, and all-embracing settlement in that region.

The sides expressed their concern at the stepping up of tension in the Persian Gulf region, noted the need for strict fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 598, and came out in support of the UN secretary general's efforts to secure its implementation.

Coming out in favor of the peaceful resolution of all conflict situations, the sides emphasized the urgent need for the speediest unblocking of the Afghan problem in the interests of peace and stability in Asia, pointing to the need for an urgent solution to this problem. Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze reaffirmed his government's readiness to withdraw troops from that country in a short space of time within the framework of the attainment of a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation, given an end to outside interference. The ministers noted the usefulness of the talks taking place in Geneva through the personal representative of the UN secretary general and, supporting these talks, express the hope for their conclusion with concrete results.

The ministers declared their support for the proposal to convene an international conference aimed at the restructuring of the international currency and financial system, and expressed their profound concern at the problem of foreign debts and their consequences for the developing countries' potential for steady growth.

They pointed out that a just, long-term settlement of the debt crisis requires the efforts of all interested parties, including the governments of creditor and debtor countries, multilateral financial organizations, and private international banks. The elaboration of a solution to this problem would have a positive effect on the activation of the world economy.

The close link between disarmament and development and the need to transfer the resources used for military purposes to the peoples' socioeconomic development were stressed. In this respect the participants in the talks emphasized the importance of the results of the International Conference on the Relationship Between Disarmament and Development in New York.

The ministers acknowledged the positive results of the Seventh UNCTAD Conference, and came out in favor of strengthening UNCTAD's role as a universal international organization in which all member countries have the opportunity to conduct joint talks to seek mutually acceptable solutions. They noted the satisfaction of the two governments with the role played by UNCTAD in the sphere of trade in raw materials of exceptional significance for the world community as a whole.

The sides agreed on the importance of progress within the framework of the "Uruguayan round" of GATT with a view to the greater liberalization of international trade and the strengthening of the multilateral principle.

The sides are united in the opinion that the general agreement (GATT) should be open to participation by all interested countries prepared to fulfill the commitments it provides for, on the basis that talks held within the GATT framework affect the interests of all states participating in world trade.

In the course of the talks it was established that the major improvements achieved in recent years in political and diplomatic relations between the two countries have not been accompanied by similar improvements in the sphere of trade and economic relations. Mention was made of the objective difficulties that have influenced the state of these relations, and the two sides expressed their desire to make maximum use of the existing opportunities and potential. In this regard it was decided to deepen the analysis of new proposals, mechanisms, and measures in the global context of talks, which would make it possible to give new impetus to and open up new prospects for the present efforts with a view to strengthening relations in the trade and economic sphere.

The ministers reached a united opinion concerning attaching paramount significance to the question of the strengthening and diversification of trade exchange, noting the objective difficulties that exist in this sphere at present. The sides expressed the desire to make fuller use of existing potential and to seek new avenues and promising forms of cooperation in accordance with the priorities of socioeconomic development. The ministers agreed on the need to adopt additional measures to improve the structure of trade exchange and its diversification, including the stepping up of efforts to study the potential for concluding an agreement on reciprocal deliveries of goods and increasing the effectiveness of the 1984 agreement on deliveries of Soviet machines and equipment to Uruguay, as well as developing new forms of economic cooperation. The Soviet side reported on the measures aimed at improving the USSR'S foreign economic ties within the framework of the general process of restructuring of the economic mechanism. The sides agreed to continue studying the whole range of problems that will be touched on at the third session of the Soviet-Uruguayan intergovernmental commission on trade and economic cooperation, which could be held in late 1987 or early 1988.

The two sides expressed their intention to continue the analysis of mechanisms for cooperation in the sphere of fisheries, especially regarding the use of Uruguayan

ports, the conservation and rational utilization of live marine resources, scientific research, and joint enterprises, founding all this on the principles of mutual advantage and cooperation in accordance with the legislation existing in the two countries and the general principles of international law on this question.

Attaching great significance to the development of relations in the sphere of culture, education, and science, the sides exchanged notes on the coming into force of an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation, and signed a program for cultural and scientific exchanges in 1987-1988.

Analyzing bilateral relations, the two ministers expressed mutual satisfaction with the results achieved in the implementation of the Soviet-Uruguayan protocol on consultations signed in Moscow in 1986. They also noted the deepening of relations between the two countries, emphasizing the exchange of visits by parliamentarians and representatives of municipalities and local organs of power, as well as the developments that have taken place in the sphere of cultural, scientific, and sporting cooperation, which, in their assessment, is convincing evidence of the potential for cooperation between countries with different social systems on the basis of unfailing observance of the principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks.

At the end of the visit E.A. Shevardnadze, foreign minister of the Soviet Union, expressed profound gratitude to Enrique V. Iglesias, foreign minister of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, for the reception accorded to him and those accompanying him by the Uruguayan authorities.

Arrives in Cuba, Met by Castro

LD080317 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0252 GMT 8 Oct 87

[Text] Havana, 8 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, has arrived here on a working visit at the invitation of the leadership of the PCC [Communist Party of Cuba] and the Cuban Government. At Jose Marti International Airport he was met by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers; Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Politburo of the PCC Central Committee and vice president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers; and other officials.

The welcoming party included A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba.

Castro Receives Antonov in Havana 7 Oct

LD080911 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2350 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Excerpt] Havana, 7 Oct (TASS)—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, chairman of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic yesterday received A. K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is here on a working visit. There was a warm friendly conversation, during which topical matters of Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation, as well as Cuba's participation in the work of the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA) were examined. Particular attention was paid to discussion of the prospects for expanding and strengthening the Republic's integrated ties within the framework of CEMA, in particular, for deepening cooperative relations with the USSR and the other CEMA member-countries of for the purposes of assisting the further social and economic progress of Cuba.

Soviet Embassy Official on Cooperation

FL062153 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 5 Oct 87

[Interview with Vladislav V. Martynov, vice economic counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Cuba, by J.J. Fernandez, journalist; date and place not given — recorded]

[Text] [Fernandez, identified by caption] Martynov, could you describe the cooperation offered by the Soviet people, the Soviet state, to our country and the outlook for this?

[Martynov] [video shows Martynov reading his response to Fernandez' question] The scientific-economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba is developing successfully. This cooperation borders almost all spheres of the economy.

Cuban and Soviet specialists are working together to resolve the problems confronted in accelerating the construction of new projects, promoting the efficient use of works that have been completed, and—I would like to stress this—in promoting rapid construction at a low cost so that projects can be completed as soon as possible, and so that the highest yields can be obtained from the works that have been completed.

We are also working together in seeking new and more perfect methods of cooperation that ultimately respond to our common needs at this time, such as creating more joint enterprises and organizations and establishing direct relations between Soviet and Cuban enterprises, organizations, and other bodies.

We wish the heroic and sister peoples of Cuba new successes in the construction of socialism.

Ortega Arrives For UNGA Session 8 Oct

LD080929 Moscow TASS in English 0734 GMT 8 Oct 87

[Text] New York October 8 TASS—The Sandinist Government will never talk with the leaders of Contras financed and trained by the United States. President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has told a press conference here.

He arrived in New York to attend the U.N. General Assembly session.

Ortega observed that the Nicaraguan Government was going to talk with the United States, not with its stooges as demanded by Washington.

Nicaragua strictly complied with terms of the Guatemalan accords on peace in Central America, the president said.

The National Reconciliation Commission was successfully working and a dialogue with opposition parties was being conducted. However, Ortega pointed out, the U.S. was hindering the implementation of the Guatemalan accords by rendering assistance to anti-Nicaraguan forces.

President Reagan's intention to request Congress to allocate 270 million dollars in fresh financial aid to the Contras was of especial threat to peace in the region, the Nicaraguan leader said.

Draft Treaty on C. American Parliament Approved

PM081113 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Regional Parliament Being Set Up"]

[Text] Havana, 3 Oct—A conference of the Central American Parliament preparatory commission comprised of the vice presidents and foreign ministers of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador and also representatives of these countries' parliaments has ended in the capital of Guatemala. The conference approved the final draft of a treaty on the creation of a Central American Parliament as a permanent forum for the solution of political, economic, social, and cultural problems of the states of the region.

The creation of this representative forum in Central America will mark the implementation of one of the points of the peace accords adopted by the region's heads of state at their meeting in Guatemala on 7 August this year. Elections to the Central American Parliament are to be held during the first half of 1988. Each Central American country will be represented by 20 deputies. The forum will meet at least once a year and also on occasions when more than 40 percent of its deputies favor a convocation. The document makes provision for Panama's accession to the treaty.

The draft treaty on the creation of the Central American Parliament will be submitted for discussion by the presidents of the countries of the region during their conference in Costa Rica in January next year. In addition, the document must be approved by the parliaments of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. At a press conference held in the capital of Guatemala, the conference participants assessed the adoption of the draft as a historical step toward the establishment of lasting peace in Central America. Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez expressed satisfaction with the accords achieved and said he was confident that the creation of the Central American Parliament would contribute to the success of the process of settling the crisis in the region and to the development of Central American countries.

L. A. Parliament Criticizes U.S. 'Meddling'

PA070115 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 2 Oct 87

[Text] In its meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, the Latin American Parliament criticized U.S. meddling in Panama's domestic affairs. The parliament said that Washington's actions were incompatible with the people's rights to self-determination and to the principles of nonintervention. Copies of the resolution were sent to the OAS, to the United Nations, and to the U.S. Senate.

In a declaration released recently by the Panamanian Government, documentary evidence of these types of actions is provided demonstrating Washington's interventionist plans against the constitutional government and military command of the country. Emphasis is placed on the most recent, flagrant attack against the sovereignty and independence of the nation. It concerns the illegal deployment of troops from Pentagon bases located in the canal area to the U. S. Embassy in Panama City. It is an ostentatious and premeditated violation of all bilateral agreements in this regard. This incident was followed by other acts of blackmail: Blackhawk helicopters from Howard Air Force base, for example, on several occasions violated airspace restrictions. In addition, contacts between U. S. Ambassador Davis and embassy advisers and the leaders of the rightist opposition and reactionary organizations have become more frequent.

The resolution stressed: It is well known that guiding principles and methods to overthrow Arturo Delvalle's government and replace it without direct U.S. government intervention were discussed during these talks. U. S. banks and firms also contributed to the undermining of national stability. Through sabotage, these banks and firms are attempting to bring about the country's economic and financial collapse. In addition, the U. S. press unleashed a psychological war by spreading lies, rumors, and slander about Panamanian leaders.

According to analysts, all of these facts prove that Panama is the target of a broad and well-planned campaign against the people's freedom and the Republic's independent domestic and foreign policies. The situation in Panama cannot but cause the Latin American people to be concerned about the crisis in the isthmus and Washingtion's unceasing intervention in the affairs of area countries.

The Panamanian people's destiny is inseparably linked to that of other countries in the isthmus, which are also victims of U.S. imperialist intentions. Therefore, the events in Panama cannot be viewed apart from their relation to the Central American conflict in general and to political trends relating to the solution of this conflict. It is well known that all of the Central American countries hold a unique position on this issue. They seek normalization and a return to peace as soon as possible, as well as an end to the explosive situation and armed confrontation that the United States desires. Washington intends to ruin this process and to loosen several links of the chain reinforced by the Guatemala accord. In particular, Washington attempts to keep Panama away from the Contadora Group, which seeks a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Central American isthmus.

It is no secret that the United States, in its efforts to seize power in Panama, pursues its military, strategic, and political objectives. These objectives include a revision of the canal treaties and maintaining the Pentagon's bases in nearby areas to reinforce its new world policy in Central America and the continent at large.

Venezuelan Solon Receives CPSU Group 7 Oct

LD080843 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Caracas, 7 Oct (TASS)—Venezuelan Congress Presidant Reinaldo Leandro Mora has received a CPSU delegation, led by Mikhail Knyazyuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Ivanovo Obkom. The delegation visiting Caracas at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela. During the conversation the Venezuelan parliamentarian praised the Soviet Union's peace initiatives. He welcomed the accord in principle reached between the USSR and the United States on concluding an agreement on the elimination of midium- and shorter-range missiles, and supported the Soviet proposal for the destruction of chemical weapons arsenals and the means of their production. The USSR's consistent steps, R. Leandro Mora stressed, give people hope in their hearts for the possibility of achieving stable peace on earth. They bring the Soviet Union a sympathetic attitude and respect, both in Latin American and throughout the world.

The leader of the Venezuela's Parliament welcomed the deep transformations taking place in the Soviet Union, about which Mikhail Knyazyuk gave detailed information.

R. Leandro Mora noted the stimulation in recent years of USSR-Venezuela parliamentary contacts. He came out in favor of further expansion of all-round Soviet-Venezuelan ties

Soviet Dissident Speaks on Chilean TV

PY031156 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 2 Oct 87

[Excerpts] The Communist regime failed in Chile for the first time in history [sentence as heard]. This was an extremely negative event for the Soviet Union and Marxism and they are, therefore, working hard for a rematch. This statement was made by Soviet dissident writer and scientist Aleksandr Zinovyev during a roundtable discussion broadcast by Television Nacional de Chile which he attended as a special guest.

Zinovyev was invited to Chile by the Political Sciences Institute of the University of Chile. When asked what would have happened in Chile if the Amred Forces had not intervened on 11 September 1973 to prevent Marxism from coming to power, Zinovyev replied: Now the Soviet Union fears that the same thing that happened in Chile may happen in Afghanistan.

The defeat in Chile has hurt Marxism so much that it is thinking of a rematch. Marxism can wait for a long time to force Chile down the Communist path. Chile plays an important political role; if this country is controlled, it will be able to control Marxism in Latin America, thus sorrounding the United States will Soviet bases, Zinovyev said.

In reference to CPSU Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev, Zinovyev said this apparent condor is exactly that, a condor, and soon the Western world will see his claws.

Regarding the situation in the Soviet Union, once called the paradise of workers, Zinovyev said: You in the West consider the workers as a social class, but in the Soviet Union workers do not exist as a social class. They are only lower strata because Soviet society only accepts leaders and subordinates. [passage omitted]

Returning to the case of Chile, Zinovyev remarked that one must be very careful with the hurt feelings of Marxist sectors because they are working intensely for a comeback in our country. The 11 September defeat opened a wound on Marxism which is still open, he added.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Greets Leningrad All-Union Congress

LD032003 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 1 Oct 87

[Text] News From Leningrad: On Thursday an All-Union Creative Conference opened here on Great October, Socialist Internationalism, Soviet Patriotism, and Soviet Literature. Comrade Markov, chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, read the opening address. He conveyed greetings to participants at the meeting from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who wished the writers new creative successes in the struggle for peace, democracy, social progress, and socialism. The message of greetings stresses that the party sees Soviet writers and the creative intelligentsia as the active force of restructuring.

Meeting of Moscow City Officials Held

Bribe-Takers Convicted

LD042010 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0400 GMT 4 Oct 87

[From the "90 Minutes" program, presented by Aleksandr Krutov]

[Text] The legal collegium for criminal matters of the Moscow city court and the RSFSR Supreme Court have considered the case of the ex-chairman of the Gagarinskiy Rayispolkom of the city of Moscow, (Glebov), charged with habitually taking bribes from workers in the catering sector. The court has sentenced him to 9 years of deprivation of liberty.

Criminal charges were also instituted against those who took advantage of their senior positions and gave bribes. These are the director of the Gagarinskiy Rayon committee for trading food, (Chmyreva), sentenced to 8 years; the director of the canteen trust, (Drugova), sentenced to 8 and 1/2 years; the deputy chief of the catering association, (Ochakova), sentenced to 6 years. Other participants in crimes are sentenced to imprisonment of various length.

Everyone's possessions are confiscated and all are deprived of the possibility of occupying certain posts for 5 years after they get out of prison.

Yeltsin Attends Soviet Session

LD041517 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1625 GMT 3 Oct 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today the latest session of the Moscow city soviet was held. The session examined the work of the Sovietskiy Rayon local soviet. All the deputies from this local soviet in the capital were invited to participate in the discussion. The deputies analyzed serious inadequacies and omissions and stressed that profound changes in the work of the local soviet had still not come about. The efforts of enterprises and organizations not under its jurisdiction to develop the rayon's infrastructure and improve the labor, living, and rest conditions of the people and to expand the production of consumer goods are poorly coordinated here. The attention of the local soviet and, at the same time, of all the capital's rayon soviets and their executive committees, was drawn to the need more fully to utilize the rights granted them to bring into play all the reserves for the acceleration of the integrated development of their territories and the restructuring of the management of the economy.

Also examined was the plan for measures to fulfill the mandates of the electorate put forward in the period of preparation for elections to the local city soviets of people's deputies in Moscow in 1987.

Comrade Yeltsin took part in the work of the session.

Yeltsin Addresses Meeting

LD261230 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 87

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow today between Moscow's propagandists and gorkom secretaries and Comrade Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom. He briefed those present on the activities of the city party organization in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum. There was a frank discussion on the progress of restructuring in Moscow; pointed questions were raised on the development of the city's economy and its social and public amenities. It was emphasized that the propagandists' role is important in the renovation of our life. They were set practical tasks to set a businesslike tone from the first lesson in the new academy year in the system of political and economic study.

Biryukova, Lukyanov Attend Youth Concert

PM052033 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Oct 87 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Young People's Review"]

[Text] "We are the country's working youth"—these words rang out proudly under the arches of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The final concert of vocational technical schools' amateur art ensembles was held here 2 October. It brought together the winners and participants in the Second All-Union People's Art Festival which was devoted to the 70th anniversary of Great October.

The concert was attended by Comrades A.P. Biryukova and A.I. Lukyanov.

Ligachev Attends Memorial of Kazakh Writer

PM060932 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To a Writer and Citizen"]

[Text] The true richness of soul of the new man was revealed in the works of the outstanding Kazakh writer Mukhtar Auzzov. A memorial soiree devoted to the 90th anniversary of the birth of this master of words took place in Moscow 2 October, in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions.

On the presidium were Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, cultural personalities, and envoys from the Kazakh SSR.

Opening the soiree, V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board, noted that Auzzov began his creative career in the era of revolutionary transformations, was present at the birth of Soviet Kazakh literature, and was one of its founders.

The keynote speaker, Z. Kamalidenov secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and other speakers particularly stressed the role of the writer and citizen in seeking to make his contribution to the social transformation of the world which had begun.

A concert by Kazakhstan's artists was then held.

Aliyev Attends Moscow Teachers' Day Meeting

PM041450 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In Honor of Teachers' Day"]

[Text] To be a model of conscience, industriousness, and ideological commitment, to set a worthy moral example for your pupils—that is what the times demand of the Soviet teacher today. Those who have chosen the education of the young generation as their life's work were honored at a meeting held in Moscow's State Central Concert Hall on 2 October.

The capital's teachers made this ceremonial soiree really businesslike, discussing topical questions facing education in the conditions of the restructuring of all spheres of Soviet society's life.

It was stressed in the report by A.A. Korobeynikov, USSR first deputy minister of education, and the speakers' remarks that in order to improve education, new pedagogical thinking is needed, and here we must act not on the adults' wishes, but on the kids' interests and desires. Today, the speakers said, the teacher's role and responsibility are increasing particularly: Teachers are preparing the generation which will enter the 21st century. But education today is still in many respects a formalism club, and new approaches, new reserves, and work methods appropriate to today's demands must be sought. It is necessary to make available to everyone the experience of the best teachers—and there are thousands of them in the vast teaching army.

G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was present at the session.

Demonstrators Arrested in Moscow

AU071619 Paris AFP in English 1551 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, Oct 7 (AFP)—About 15 Soviet citizens were arrested Wednesday at a demonstration marking the 10th anniversary of the Soviet Constitution in central Moscow, witnesses said.

Several dozen people gathered on a boulevard of the Soviet capital around noon.

Security officers, who outnumbered the demonstrators, manhandled and arrested those who tried to unfurl placards demanding revisions of the Constitution, witnesses said.

A Dutch tourist, who was taking pictures of the demonstration, had his film seized by police.

The demonstration had been called by the "Group for Confidence," a dissident pacifist organization working for "the establishment of confidence between the East and the West" and created in 1982.

Pacifist sources told AFP that several people had been "prevented" from going to the demonstration, including Valeria Novodvorskaya, a leading member of the "Group for Confidence."

Editor Grigoryants Condemns Repression

PM080750 Paris LIBERATION in French 5 Oct 87 p 22

[Telephone interview with Sergey Grigoryants, chief editor of GLASNOST, by Basile Karlinsky—date not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A group of former political prisoners, who were released from the camps at the beginning of the year, launched an independent magazine in Moscow entitled *Glasnost*, with the avowed aim of covering the spheres which official glasnost would not dare to touch, particularly human rights. An article condemning the destruction of the legal archives from the Stalinist period angered the KGB. Last Wednesday Valentin Falin of the APN news agency alleged that the article "slandered" the Soviet state; the following day the KGB confiscated the latest issue of the magazine. On Friday TASS announced that proceedings were to be taken against the magazine,

accused of fraudulently producing the seized issue on a photocopier belonging to the state. Following these events, we interviewed *Glasnost* chief editor Sergey Grigoryants by telephone.

Liberation: After a short period of tolerance, you are now under fire. Was this to be expected?

Sergey Grigoryants: They were watching us. Andrey Chilkov, one of our authors, was systematically rejected whenever he applied for a job, even as a night cleaner on the subway, although they are in short supply. The militia raided two of our meetings held in Kirill Popov's apartment, checked the identity of those present, and then threatened Kirill's parents with the confiscation of the apartment. We were followed wherever we went. Since last Thursday, when Andrey Chilkov was apprehended by the militia, he has faced a charge of illegal residence in Moscow (he lives in the provinces). As far as I am concerned, the very liberal magazine *Novyy Mir* has just used a specious pretext to break the contract it had signed with me for a series of articles. It is the KGB which is organizing this direct and indirect repression against us.

Liberation: Last Tuesday, a delegation from your magazine was received at the foreign ministry and one of your friends regarded that as implicit recognition.

Sergey Grigoryants: I did not agree then and certainly do not now. They were merely sounding out our intentions with regard to the international conference on human rights which the government wishes to convene in Moscow. The precondition I put forward for participating in it was that a preliminary seminar be held bringing together all the sociopolitical associations which are proliferating throughout the country, even as far as Kamchatka. Their surveillance alone can force the authorities to respect human rights and the international conventions signed by the USSR in this sphere. Administrative officials, especially in the provinces, do not have the motivation or intelligence to ensure that they are respected. If the government is envisaging a real human rights policy, it must allow such a seminar to be held.

Liberation: What happened last Thursday?

Sergey Grigoryants: Dmitriy Eysner was apprehended at the University subway station when he was carrying the original and all 70 copies of the magazine's eighth issue and the draft of the ninth issue. They were confiscated. We will have to start work again. Allow me to tell you a symptomatic story about this incident: When Eysner was arrested, he had time to shout out my telephone number and ask the passersby to tell me what had happened. One passerby did so: Fear is changing sides. I see examples of this every day. People are finally willing to act. The magazine is swamped with articles exposing cases of arbitrary action despite the risks the authors run if they sign them, as did D. Yurasov, the author of the article on the destruction of the archives, who was not afraid of bringing his name to the KGB's attention in this way.

Liberation: Is the government afraid of you?

Sergey Grigoryants: I would not go as far as saying that, but I can see results. After our article on the destruction of the archives, the destruction stopped. We raised the case of the Meskhetians, the Georgian Muslims who were deported to Central Asia by Stalin in 1944 and who, like the Crimean Tatars who were deported at the same time, are still being denied the right to return to their region in the north Caucasus. Immediately after that article the Georgian Communist Party first secretary told the Meskhetians that they could request to return. An article condemned the fact that Gurzhinadze, director of Georgia's literary and artistic archives, was fired and expelled from the party because he intended to publish a book on Elie Chachavadze, a Georgian poet murdered by the Georgian Social Democrats with the help of Bolsheviks Ordzhonikidze and Makhradze. Since then Gurzhinadze has been reinstated and has been offered party membership again.

Liberation: APN Chairman Valentin Falin accused you of slandering the Soviet state in your article on the destruction of the archives.

Sergey Grigoryants: He was unable to provide any proof but, with a view to proceedings against us in which the witnesses are likely to be subjected to pressure from the authorities, we have appealed to the archivists in the Bibliotheque Nationale, the British Museum, and the Library of Congress to set up a commission which will request on-the-spot checks of whether or not archives in the USSR are being destroyed.

Liberation: But surely you are only accused of fraudulently using state printing equipment?

Sergey Grigoryants: They stand to gain from making an indirect attack rather than going to the heart of the matter—the destruction of the archives. We subcontracted the printing work. If a crime was committed, it is not our business.

Liberation: What is the outlook for the magazine and for Gorbachev's policy of democratization?

Sergey Grigoryants: The confiscation of our magazine does not bode well for us, but we will continue. Moreover, the general outlook has become gloomier following Gorbachev's return to work. His speech on Wednesday to the French delegation contrasts with his speech to the press workers 2 months ago. At that time he said that the party would have discussions with people who disagree with it in an atmosphere of democracy and glasnost. He is now threatening those who are trying to change the existing order. He has also adopted a classic Brezhnev

statement, namely that the USSR has a specific kind of morality. If that is true, what basis for discussion can it offer the Western countries for the Moscow human rights conference?

Gorbachev is going back on his promises. It is a bad sign.

Explosion Destroys Writer's Tomb in Georgia

AU070942 Paris AFP in English 2259 GMT 7 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, Oct 7 (AFP)—A bomb explosion Monday at Tbilisi destroyed the tomb of Bolshevik writer Philip Makharadze, one of the "main participants" in the 1907 assassination of a prominent Georgian nationalist writer, Georgian dissident sources said late Wednesday.

The explosion was in a cemetery in the Georgian capital where writers are buried, former political prisoner Merab Kostava said contacted by telephone. He said the attack was carried out by an "unknown person".

The authoritative Soviet Encyclopedia describes Mr. Chavchavadze as an "eminent representative of the movement for the national liberation of Georgia", but does not state the cause of death. Georgia was placed under Russian control in a 1783 treaty.

Georgian nationalism still runs strong, and Tbilisi was the scene of nationalist demonstrations in the early 1980s.

Earlier Wednesday, Tbilisi municipal authorities said that "nothing so serious" as a bomb attack had occurred, but did not give further details.

In another development, former political prisoner and would-be priest Gocha Abuladze, released from labor camp on September 5, said in a telephone call that on Tuesday night, police had gone to his Tbilisi home where they had "threatened" him and told him to find work.

Mr. Abuladze said he had preached at a "religious place" three times since his release, after the Georgian orthodox patriarch said he was "not against" him conducting religious services.

'Political Discussion Club' Opens in Riga

PM061031 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov report: "Political Discussion Club"]

[Text] Riga—a "Political Discussion Club" attached to the capital's House of Knowledge has opened in Riga. Any citizen of Riga can come here on session days not only to obtain a frank answer to any question of a political nature, but also to personally participate in the discussion of various problems and express his own point of view.

Here is what N. Brazhe, director of the House of Knowledge, had to say:

"Even in the past we strove to make our program meaningful and varied, and the numerous traditional events—lectures, meetings, exhibitions—attracted a broad circle of listeners and viewers. Recently, however, we felt that, following an interesting lecture or report, people wanted to exchange opinions not only with the lecturer but also with one another, to share the things that perturb and worry them, the questions to which they can find no answers. This is how the idea of the club was born. We were backed by the republic 'Znaniye' Society and the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. Forthcoming sessions and their agendas are announced in advance in the city newspaper *Rigas Balss*, on the radio, and by means of posters. What is of the greatest interest to the audience today? Our republic's present and its past, the prospects of its development, the expansion of glasnost, the progress of restructuring. The club sessions are chaired by informed specialists who are highly respected."

...The participants in a club session had just finished discussing topical questions from the Latvian SSR's history—the course of the 1940 socialist revolution, analyzing the international situation just before that time. They recalled the times of the restoration of Soviet power in the republic and listened with interest to unknown stories of combat operations by the Latvian Rifle Division during the Great Patriotic War.

The session was chaired by Honored Scientific Workers A. Birons, V. Savchenko, E. Zhagars, and Ya. Dzintars, members of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences and winners of the republic State Prize. They replied to numerous questions, both questions asked on the spot and questions which had been submitted in advance (these could be formulated and written down in advance and then dropped in a special box prominently displayed in the House of Knowledge).

People in Riga are persistently seeking new forms of mass propaganda work among working people. In addition to the "Political Discussion Club," the House of Knowledge recently inaugurated the "Minister's Tribune"—a club operating under the auspices of the republic Komsomol Central Committee.

New Tajik Ministry, Minister of Housing

LD061056 Dushanbe TOJIKSTONI SOVETI in Tajik 22 Sep 87 p 1

[Text] Decree of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the appointment of Comrade Yu.B. Kostarev as Tajik SSR minister of housing and municipal services:

The Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees that Comrade Yuriy Borisovich Kostarev be appointed as minister of housing and municipal services of the Tajik SSR.

[Signed] G. Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

A. Kasimov, secretary of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

21 September 1987, City of Dushanbe.

Uzbek Writers' Union Leader Replaced

LD050854 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0215 GMT 2 Oct 87

[Text] A plenum of the Board of the Uzbek SSR Writers' Union was held in Tashkent yesterday. The plenum examined organizational questions.

The plenum relieved Ulams Umarbekov of his duty as first secretary of the republic's Writers' Union in connection with his appointment as minister of culture of the UZSSR. Adyl Yakubov, people's writer of the UZSSR and winner of UZSSR State Prize named after Khamza, was elected first secretary of the UZSSR Writers' Union.

The plenum also examined the composition of the Board of the Writers' Union and the auditing commission as well as [word indistinct].

Armenian Artists' Congress Elects New Board

LD052044 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Oct 87

[Text] The 13th Congress of Artists of Armenia has ended. Listen to what our correspondent Kuryum Khamaryan reported.

[Begin recording] [Khamaryan] The congress continued for 4 days of debate, 4 days of struggle. Or rather the struggle never ended; it was at the exhibitions, it spilled out into the pages of the republican papers and into the studios, and reached its hottest point in the summer of this year during the report-back and election campaign in the creative sections of the union.

Already then it had become clear that the old board and its secretariat did not enjoy the confidence of an absolute majority of artists. At least none of them had been included either in the direction of the sections or in the lists of candidate members of the new board. Now at the congress some of the speakers have tried to call this a struggle of the generations but it is really much deeper, much more serious than the notorious struggle of fathers and sons.

In the opinion of the majority of participants in the congress, the old leadership embodied the age of stagnation in our society. It gave the green light to gray, uninteresting works, repressed the creative potential of the most interesting artists regardless of their age or creative style, and cultivated cliquishness and unworthy methods of settling creative disputes. Even at the congress, making use of their position, they tried to change the balance of forces which had taken shape after the debates in the creative sections and literally pushed through a decision on increasing the composition of the new board to 81 persons, nearly twice as many, and got some of their own representatives put on the list of candidates.

Now the Credentials Commission has just announced the results of the elections: The composition of the board of the Union of Artists of Armenia numbers 41 persons. They are mainly those artists whose candidature was put forward in the creative sections of the union. They are now holding their first session at the Republican House of Political Education where the congress was held, and the others, despite the rainy weather and late hour are waiting for them outside. I invite to the microphone woman artist Anna Izlatanyan.

The results of the 4 busy days of work of the congress are already obvious. Do they satisfy you?

[Izlatanyan] Of course they do, the members of the new board are not only our best artists, they are also honest, principled people who have repeatedly displayed their creative and humane principles. They are loyal sons of their homeland, Soviet Armenia. [end recording]

Ukrainian Linguist Makes Use of Glasnost

AU061517 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 22 Sep 87 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences Hryhoriy Syvokin: "Let Us Be Frank—Who Is Going to Read the Ukrainian Romantics?" — boldface passage as published]

[Excerpts] We are now indeed willing to look truth in the face. And truth frequently looks aside. We make it feel uncomfortable, and not because we still act coyly with regard to the truth now and then, but because we do not really know what we are saying, what we are promising, or even what we genuinely want to do. As you know, this applies (in various degrees, of course) to economics and ecology, to construction and consumer services, to nationality problems and culture, and also to literary writing.

Restructuring, with its curative ideas, which require a new way of thinking and resoluteness in action, has also confronted literary writing with difficult questions. After all, quite a few ideas that are evidently firmly rooted in the minds of writers have been somewhat shaken and such clearly ugly phenomena in what was written in the past as the dutiful willingness to provide illustrations [that are true to the line], to respond quickly, and to write smoothly have now become obvious.... The growing overall "output" of books received by readers with

absolute indifference has become obvious, too.... But who is able to make a list of all the problems in the world of literary writing that need cardinal solutions?

In the meantime, publications have already appeared which have literally shaken public awareness. There are long lines for some journals offering material written in a new way. Thus a new reader has appeared, a reader who is not fond of "dainty bits" finally served to him in a literary interpretation, but who is eager to understand what has been and is going on around us.

Naturally enough—and every writer responsible for his own works is aware of this—it is rather difficult to meet the needs of such a reader.

However, in discussing literary liabilities, one must not forget to consider the debt that readers themselves owe with regard to their own literature. All cultural experience in history shows that confident literary works were created only when the authors knew, even if only in a sort of intuitive way, for whom they were writing, and when they regarded their readers as a social force on which they could rely in a changing life. Without that, as a rule literature only drifts about from contradiction to contradiction, does not recognize any point of reference, and lapses into its own inferiority complex....

During my recent short visit to Yevpatoriya, I noticed—not without annoyance, which is perhaps not quite understandable to others—how books written by our classical [Ukrainian] authors, from Dovzhenko to the romantic poets, and issued by the "Naukova Dumka" publishing house, were gathering dust on the shelves in the booths of "Soyuzpechat." How long are they destined to lie there and remain silent at the reproachful or ironic remarks made by health resort visitors: "But they are in Ukrainian" [remark in Russian]?

It is ridiculous to blame the health resort visitors. They have come to Yevpatoriya from all parts of the Soviet Union (although, from his accent when he speaks, one can also recognize an occasional compatriot among them!). The question that I properly ask myself is how much concern do we show for the stocks of books that we have and what use are we able to make of them. The very same series, "Library of Ukrainian Literature," published by the "Naukova Dumka" publishing house, has its consumers, its real or potential readers. Who are they? Are they individual booklovers? Are they the people who value their heritage? The value of a clear answer to these questions is great indeed. [passage omitted]

But what is the point of speaking about the mass reader, when the aforesaid "Library of Ukrainian Literature" somehow does not find much response even in authentic literary circles. Twenty-three books of this series have already been published, but the press has maintained an almost complete silence about them. Consequently, we do not read. Are we too busy? Are we not interested in obtaining a complete picture of our romantic poets, who, in fixing in their works the essential poetic and esthetic quality of Ukrainian literature, reflected one of the brilliant features of our national character? By God, one can perceive a measure of professional aloofness in such an attitude. After all, reading for professional reasons is reading, too.

There is no doubt that in these circumstances the reader also loses interest in works that deal with the present and loses interest in new writers' initiatives. Out of inertia, he does not bother to look in Ukrainian literary and art periodicals or in newly published books for anything that compares favorably with works that he finds in *Druzhba Narodov, Novyy Mir* or, let us say, *Ogonek*. In order to moderate his bias, one could suggest to him O. Honchar's "The Cathedral," a highly controversial novel which was highly topical even in the sixties and which has recently been restored to him, or Lina Kostenko's "The Garden of Sculptures That Do not Erode," a collection of poetry which reflects the present times and interprets in an artistic way the position of an artist who is either able or unable to defend his human and professional honor. [passage omitted]

The revolution which we are now experiencing in our world outlook as a result of consolidating glasnost and democracy as the driving forces of restructuring obligates the writer, above all, as a subject of creativity, to be as honest as possible in portraying life and in his attitude toward his profession and the fruits of that profession.

But in the meantime, many things in this sphere carry on in the old way. Shelves in our bookstores are bending under the weight of "fruits" which cannot be sold because they are a long way from their classic models, and publishing houses are working at full capacity to fulfill plans fixed, as it is customary in this country, a long time ago. [passage omitted]

Let us not close our eyes to the fact that what we are dealing with are the results of phenomena brought about, say, not by a lack of talent as something inherent in this literature, but by historical and social circumstances, particularly by certain trends prevailing in ideology and by the situation of the language.

It would be wise and noble on the part of the state and the nation (let alone every intelligent reader) to give support precisely to literary and art publications, to Ukrainian newspapers and journals which now find themselves in certain difficulties and which, in our opinion, could with proper encouragement raise their standards within a short time—a time that is favorable owing to the spirit of restructuring—could motivate suitable authors to cooperate on new principles, and could meet the new readers' demands. [passage omitted]

Under all circumstances we must beware of dullness and mediocrity, which pretentiously assume the guise of, and frequently substitute for, literature! We must beware of the reader's indifference which brings all honest literary efforts to nought!

The sooner we get rid of these and other defects, and the more thoroughly we comprehend the true essence of creativity and its most humane mission in our times, the more natural the demand for the book will be, the demand for the creativity of full ideological and esthetic value. Our classics will find their readers, and the contemporary writer will encounter genuine public interest. The aforesaid romantics poets will be given the attention that is denied to them at present because of the deplorable, but among readers still widespread, opinion that all this is outdated and belongs to literature which "lacks prestige."

Voss on Cooperative National Relations
PM071046 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 87 pp 1, 10

[Interview with A. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, by Y. Vladimirov under the rubric "7 October Is USSR Constitution Day:" "Protecting What We Have Gained Through Shared Labor"—date, place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee appeal on the 70th anniversary of October contains these words: "In the years of Soviet power, the peoples' equality and fraternal cooperation have become established in practice." The successes of the nationalities policy are plain to see. The growth of national self-awareness is an indisputable fact. All the same, the realities of our day include the struggle to ensure that, in Lenin's phrase, "the legitimate demands and progressive aspirations of the working masses of every nationality" are satisfied "in international unity." Yes, it is a struggle. It is as keen and topical for socialism as it was many years ago.

It is no accident, at the beginning of my conversation with Avgust Eduardovich Voss on the constitutional safeguards and regulation of national relations, the first thing I asked was: "Are we not too complacent in assessing our potential today in the resolution of the nationalities question?"

[Voss] We should, I believe, above all assess our potential realistically. We should see yesterday and today clearly. We should see just as distinctly the prospects for developing national relations. In the conditions of restructuring, the expansion of democracy and social self-management, and the establishment of the principles of social justice, the problems that arise must be resolved on the only acceptable basis—in the interests of each nation and ethnic group and their further flourishing and rapprochement, and in the interests of the whole society. This integration of interests is provided for in the USSR Constitution and enshrined in the practice of the postrevolutionary years. Although I am not making any revelations, let me stress the unswerving continuity of state legal principles in the area of national relations. October's first decree in this sphere—the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia"—proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of the Soviet land and their right to self-determination, and it abolished all national privileges and restrictions. The theme of the unity of the national and international has always been present in the USSR Fundamental Law. It is present in the Constitution now in force, adopted 10 years ago.

It is one thing to declare a law and another to put it into practice. It is, therefore, not superfluous to note it was the pooling of the Soviet peoples' resources and forces that made it possible, in the post-October era, to bring about such radical socioeconomic transformations as industrialization and collectivization and to succeed in cultural building. Soviet people's characteristic socialist internationalism helped overcome the enemy in the Great Patriotic War and restore the war-ravaged national economy in a historically short period of time.

The internationalization of our life is a natural law of socialism. In the economic sphere, where this has perhaps been most clearly manifested, the division of labor and production sharing between republics has become the dominant principle of cooperation, while every one of us realizes that the flourishing of each individual republic ultimately depends on the entire all-union complex's efficiency. Cases where someone's parasitical tendencies begin to prevail, or the interests of a particular republic are singled out, do not negate but rather confirm the objective need for true socialist integration.

[Vladimirov] Internationalization is apparent in the area of our statehood. The present Constitution reflects this, and this is no exaggeration, in all its content. But it is important to see how this relates to the direct work of the Supreme Soviet and its chambers. How the Fundamental Law is used by our parliamentarians in the area we are talking about here...

[Voss] How the Fundamental Law is used... Let us simplify or rephrase the question slightly: What is the significance of the Fundamental Law in the practice of international relations? Reflecting the steady rapprochement of the country's nations and ethnic groups, the Constitution serves to further strengthen the federal principles of the multinational state and combines socialist federalism and democratic centralism in a natural way. But this does not mean the interests of individual republics, nations, or ethnic groups recede into the background or are sacrificed to global unionwide goals. The true historical value of socialist federalism is that the form of state structure, which Lenin's genius found, offers the opportunity to combine and integrate the development of union and national statehood.

There is a simple yet profound meaning in the dry information I am about to give you. You will see for yourself where the simplicity lies, and where the depth.

All Soviet republics are equal. Each has identical rights and duties in all the most important areas of state activity. Each is represented in the supreme organs of the USSR—the Supreme Soviet, the government, the Supreme Court. Corresponding representation is also provided for in the system of state organs of the union and autonomous republics. That is one feature.

The other is that our Supreme Soviet consists of two chambers. The common interests of the USSR's working people, regardless of their national affiliation, are represented by the Soviet of the Union. The specific interests of citizens of different nationalities living in union, autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs are represented by the Soviet of Nationalities.

The Constitution establishes the full equality of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, which makes it radically different from the two-chamber parliaments of capitalist countries. The legislative initiative belongs in equal measure to the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities. A law is deemed to be ratified if it is adopted by both chambers. It is significant in this context that our concept of the activity of the supreme representative organ does not mean opposition between the chambers, still less the subjugation of one chamber to the other, nor does it mean rivalry for the sake of the notorious "political power game." The Soviet parliament, according to Lenin's concept, is above all a working corporation. In other words, everything must be subordinated to free, businesslike, and constructive discussion of questions of state importance. As experience shows, the corporate nature of the activity of the chambers and their commissions expands the Supreme Soviet's potential in the decisionmaking process, since not only common political factors but also national factors are taken into account.

Does this mean that for us, the Soviet of Nationalities deputies, there are no problems? Of course there are. Suffice it to recall the significant number of acute, contentious issues discussed in the last 2 years at sessions of the chambers and their commissions—republican and regional national economic projects, ecological and nature conservation measures, shortcomings in implementing social programs in certain territories. What about last year's events in Alma-Ata in December or the recent events in the Baltic region in August? The dialectic is such that the internationalization and democratization of our life and the successes of the nationalities policy do not simplify but complicate the work of organs of state power. The situation is exacerbated both by the blatant understatement of errors in the area of national relations and the tendency to keep quiet about them, and by the lack of serious, systematic study of the problems of the national and international. It is, therefore, reasonable for these questions to be of special concern for the Soviet of Nationalities and its organs and to be constantly under their critical monitoring.

Restructuring is now under way, and in these conditions, the problems of internationalization and new national relations, oriented toward higher norms of communal living, need collective and open examination, both in the country's highest organ of power and in the localities.

[Vladimirov] When we speak of the dialectics of our development, the question inevitably arises: From what viewpoint is it most correct and accurate to examine the present contradictions and negative phenomena in national relations?

[Voss] The interconnection between the processes is obvious here, and any evaluation must be approached in the most comprehensive way possible. I will not attempt to analyze all aspects, the whole range of factors which could influence the nature of the problems mentioned, or other problems. I will only dwell on certain aspects by way of illustration.

It is clear that the negative trends in the economy in the seventies and early eighties, noted at the 27th party congress, could not but affect national relations and the people's mood. For instance, the low rate of growth in labor productivity in industry in a number of republics, the differences between republics in the structure of industry and the professional training of cadres... How could this go unnoticed? What about demographic factors—population migration, the nationalities composition of the republics? Today considerable percentage of the country's population is made up of people who do not belong to the indigenous nationality of the union republic in which they live. In Kazakhstan, for instance, the indigenous population is no more than 36%; in Kirgizia 47.9%; in the Uzbek SSR 68.7%; in the Moldavian SSR, about 70%; and in the Latvian SSR 54%. This fact must, I think, be noted in our work, and we must ensure that national groups are represented on the organs of people's power in strict accordance with the structure of the republics' population.

Any such situation need not necessarily affect national relations—this is acknowledged both by scientists and by practical workers. But to extinguish potential conflicts, we need justice and complete objectivity in administrative decisions, both locally and in the central organs of power. Insincerity is impermissible here. Categorically! After all, why did relapses into nationalism occur in Alma-Ata? For years many social problems were ignored in the republic, due account was not taken of the national interests of whole groups of the population, and national arrogance was patently encouraged. If we are calling

things by their names, the Leninist principles of nationalities policy were openly violated. That is why the December events and what went before them required strict party evaluation, profound analysis, and appropriate conclusions.

Lenin taught us to be internationalists in practice, and our duty is to stick to that teaching and to protect what we have gained through shared labor. All our experience shows, as was noted at the January plenum of the party Central Committee, that nationalist epidemics can only be successfully counteracted by consistent, sustained internationalism. We Soviet people are linked by indissoluble bonds. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev demonstrated this at his meeting with the Estonian SSR party, soviet, and economic aktiv by citing the example of the republic's integration with its partners in the national economic complex.

Estonia holds an important place in the USSR's national economy. From the republic, the country receives output from the defense industry, machine building, and light industry, as well as food products. According to the latest figures, its contribution is estimated at R2.5 billion a year. But that is one side of the all-pervading integration; the other is that the republic receives from all-union resources many types of fuel, rolled metal products, machine building articles, chemical products, yarn, fertilizers, and grain. In all, it amounts to approximately R3 billion. That is the living dialectics of our multinational country!

[Vladimirov] All the same, Avgust Eduardovich, let us clarify the matter: Does the leveling out of the union republics' levels of development lead to the disappearance of national differences?

[Voss] Here is my answer. During the discussion of the draft 1977 Constitution, certain comrades proposed incorporating in the Fundamental Law the concept of a united Soviet nation and limiting the sovereignty of the union and autonomous republics, or even abolishing them entirely and creating a single-chamber Supreme Soviet. Personally, I am in no doubt as to the erroneous, vulnerable nature of such proposals. The Soviet people's sociopolitical unity does not mean the disappearance of national differences. By building socialism and resolving the nationalities question for the first time in history, we only laid the foundations for the final rapprochement of our peoples. We would be embarking on a dangerous path if we began to artificially accelerate the objective, natural process of national integration. Lenin warned us persistently against this, and we must not depart from his precepts.

I will emphasize again: National differences persist even in the conditions of leveling out individual republics' levels of development. Here it is very important—I am willing to repeat this again and again—not to allow them to be underestimated or to permit ourselves to neglect them.

We in the Supreme Soviet frequently receive letters from citizens reporting particular instances of encroachments on national culture—for instance, the closure of schools teaching in the national languages, or deviations from the principle of proper representation of nations in party and state organs.

What can one say about these cases? They are contrary to the 27th CPSU Congress principles, Lenin's precepts, and the traditions of October. Of course, the Russian language, accepted by Soviet people as the language of internation intercourse, has become an important factor for strengthening the Soviet people's sociopolitical and ideological unity and developing and mutually enriching national cultures. How could it be correct for a representative of a particular nationality, while studying Russian, not to know his own native language and to lose his links with his traditional national soil? The same can be said about truly national traditions in music, the visual arts, and folk creative work. The rapprochement and mutual enrichment of cultures must, as Lenin said, take place on a truly democratic, internationalist basis. Nothing could be more alien to communist ideology than the desire to artificially urge on the objective historical process or to hamper it.

The full and comprehensive consideration of national interests is only an aspect of socialist democracy and socialism's constitutional gains. Today we have a better understanding than ever before of the links between socialism and democracy. Our historical experience convincingly confirms that the more widely social self-management develops and the more democratic the country's life becomes, the stronger will be the mutually perceived force of attraction between working people of all nations and ethnic groups, and the more successful will be the processes characteristic of socialism in the area of national relations.

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the revolution, thinking and talking about this is a natural desire and, if you like, a duty— a civic duty.

'Tact, Wisdom' Needed in National Relations

PM061441 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Oct 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Georgiy Melikyants article under the rubric "How We Started": "In the Language of Equal Rights"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Leninist path to a socialist solution of the nationalities question entails the free and sovereign self-determination of nations and the voluntary nature of their union. It entails the national territorial principle of building Soviet national statehood. Finally, it entails genuine democratic centralism distinguished by diversity of details and local features.

The development of national relations in our country is a most important concern of the party today, just as it was 70 years ago, during the October days. Life has

convinced us that national processes are not problem-free even now. But it is not enough to recognize this—we must learn to prevent mistakes and irregularities. We have only to relax international and patriotic education, and chauvinism, nationalism, and parochialism will revive.

As experience has shown, the state of national relations is influenced by economic stagnation, shortcomings in cadre policy, routine in the sociocultural sphere, lack of democracy, and a shortage of morality. Everything is interconnected here. However great the achievements in nationalities policy, they do not in themselves remove the contradictions that arise in the living process. Then one republic or another lowers its contribution to the country's unified national economic policy. Favoritism and ties between people from the same family, tribe, or area are tenacious. Young people—the future of any nation—get overlooked.

As we see, there are plenty of current problems in national relations, and tricky ones too. They can be resolved only by keeping our finger constantly on the pulse of life and realistically evaluating the course of things. Furthermore, we must teach ourselves and young people the culture of inter-nation contacts.

The implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy has revealed "...the entire tact, the entire wisdom of our party." This thought came from someone who had few equals in purity and chivalry—Sergo Ordzhonikidze.

It is precisely tact and wisdom that are needed here now as well.

And in the future.

National Sentiments, Patriotism Viewed
PM031641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Unbreakable Friendship of the Peoples"]

[Text] The Great October laid the foundations for the solution of the nationalities question in our country. One of the first decrees of Soviet power—the "Declaration of the Rights of Russia's Peoples"—proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the country's peoples and their right to self-determination, abolished all and any national privileges and restrictions, and guaranteed the free development of all national minorities living in Russia.

Only on the basis of socialism, V.I. Lenin said, is it possible to achieve such "supreme forms of human society under which the legitimate needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of every nationality will, for the first time, be satisfied in international unity..."

The CPSU Central Committee appeal to the Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October notes: "The equality of peoples and their fraternal cooperation have been affirmed in practice during the years of Soviet power. The economy and culture of all republics have been boosted. We have seen the emergence of a unified Soviet people proud of their common achievements and prepared to defend socialist gains against any encroachments."

The pooling of the resources and energies of the Soviet peoples made it possible to implement fundamental socioeconomic transformations like industrialization and collectivization and to successfully accomplish the cultural revolution. During the Great Patriotic War and in the postwar years Soviet people of all nationalities displayed mass heroism and great civic courage, overcoming a strong enemy and rebuilding within a brief period the national economy that war had devastated.

The successes of our party's nationalities policy are indisputable, and we are justifiably proud of them. It is, however, incumbent upon us to also perceive the real picture and the development prospects of national relations. In the conditions of expanding democracy and self-management, of swift growth of the national awareness of all nations and ethnic groups, particular importance attaches to the prompt and fair solution of any questions that may arise on the only possible basis—in the interests of the flourishing of every nation and ethnic group, in the interests of bringing them even closer together, in the interests of the entire society.

The cohesion of our multinational state was and is largely determined by the activity of the working class led by the Communist Party. Its revolutionary experience and lofty political awareness turn it into a mighty force of restructuring, including restructuring in the sphere of national relations.

The deepening internationalization of economic life is an objective law governing the development of socialism. Division of labor and production sharing between republics have reached the level at which the economy has become an integral national economic organism. Its efficiency now depends, more than ever before, on the coordinated work of all its links. Life demands that the republics' actual contribution to the unified national economic complex is in line with their increased economic and scientific potential.

Unfortunately, this does not always happen; at times there are instances of sentiments of parasitism, exclusivity, or exaggeration of some republic's contribution to the all-union "purse." Production rates have actually declined in places, and quality indicators have deteriorated. It must be clearly realized that the prosperity of every single republic depends on the efficient work of the

entire national economic organism. Every tonne of grain, every gram of gold, every tonne of coal or cotton, and every machine tool contains a grain of the labor of the whole Soviet people!

The cultural revolution profoundly transformed the life of all nations and ethnic groups. The eradication of illiteracy gave the country's citizens access to the treasury of the national and world cultures. Peoples who had no literature in the past have made their contribution to it by giving remarkable masters of the written word to the world. National intelligentsia cadres have developed during the years of Soviet power.

The party's tireless work shaped and established the ideological and political unity of the Soviet people. The Leninist spirit of internationalism is deeply rooted among the broad masses. But certain trends have developed recently, and they cannot fail to cause alarm. Attempts have been made, beneath the banner of reviving national traditions, to present in an idyllic light certain reactionary remnants of the past which are contrary to our ideology and are essentially antihumanitarian and antipeople. There can be no two ways about it: Traditions of the peoples, their accustomed norms of behavior, and their value orientations are entitled to exist only provided they act as factors of the acceleration of socioeconomic and spiritual development, the restructuring of society, and the overcoming of negative phenomena in social and moral life.

Soviet patriotism is a mighty means for the socialist transformation of society, an inalienable feature of Soviet people's moral character. Much still remains to be done to ensure that the entire atmosphere in our life, the family and the school, and literature and art efficiently shape and nurture among Soviet people, and especially among young people, the feelings of proletarian socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism. It is necessary for every Soviet person to be aware of the advantages of the socialist way of life and to constantly remember the heroic accomplishments by his forebears and contemporaries. It is necessary to be implacable toward all forms of national nihilism, scorn of the motherland, and lack of patriotism. At the same time, it is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against those who, latching on to that which people hold most sacred—their feeling of patriotism—transform it into an object of speculation and petty politicking.

Bourgeois propaganda has also stepped up its activity recently in its desire to drive a wedge between the peoples of our country. Having failed in its attempts to undermine the ideological and political unity of the Land of the Soviets, it is relying more and more on fanning national dissension. The arsenal of propaganda means produces arguments about the mythical infringement of the rights of individual nations in the Soviet Union, about the Russianization of outlying national regions, and so on. One of the important tasks of all our propaganda cadres is to expose all these fabrications convincingly and on the basis of sound arguments.

Great October paved the highway for the development of all nations and ethnic groups in our country. The friendship of the USSR's peoples is a common asset which must be preserved and augmented. It is with these thoughts in mind that Soviet people approach October's glorious 70th anniversary.

Editorial on Political, Economic Instruction

PM071041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 87 Second Edition p 2-3

[Editorial article: "Mastering Marxist-Leninist Dialectics, Strengthening the Link Between Training and Practical Work"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee March and April (1985) Plenums mark the beginning of a new stage of socialist development—the stage of qualitative transformations in all areas of social life. The 27th CPSU Congress firmly established the outlined course and elaborated a multifaceted program to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development, of fundamental importance for the party and all working people. The two latest Central Committee plenums—the January and June Plenums—summed up the results of the past 2 years of practical work and active theoretical quest, transferred the ideas of acceleration into the practical sphere, and laid the foundations of the new economic and social complex in which we will live and work in the coming decades.

Restructuring has entered our daily life; it has become an inseparable part of it. The democratization of all aspects of Soviet society is under way. At the same time, the revolutionary transformations are being implemented in a situation marked by contradictions and struggle against routine, sluggishness, and bureaucracy. Restructuring still has not really reached many places. In a number of areas, it is being implemented at a slow pace, and inconsistently. There are still many cases where important decisions on major questions of political and economic life are being implemented half-heartedly or incompletely, in individual regions or labor collectives.

To overcome the retarding forces of inertia, outmoded traditions, and conservatism, and to invest restructuring with momentum and effectiveness, the revolutionary processes must encompass the masses and all spheres of life. Essentially, it is a question of restructuring Soviet people's awareness, of raising it to a new educational and cultural level, of ensuring they are better informed, and expanding their horizon.

The **political and economic training of the working people** is called upon to become an effective lever in restructuring social awareness, a powerful means of molding an integral Marxist-Leninist world outlook, and a reliable

helper of the party in implementing its course of restructuring and renewal. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Restructuring of the System of Political and Economic Training of the Working People," which has been published, and the "Basic Guidelines for the Restructuring of the System of Political and Economic Training of the Working People," approved by the CPSU Central Committee accounting for the broad discussion to which they were subjected, contain an objective assessment of the current state of the Marxist-Leninist education of the working people, clearly define the role of political and economic training in the revolutionary processes taking place in society, and outline specific ways of restructuring this key sector of the party's ideological activity. They essentially formulate the concept of Marxist-Leninist education at the current crucial stage of the Soviet society's development.

Defining the ways of restructuring the system of political and economic training of the working people, the party Central Committee focuses the attention of party, trade union, and Komsomol committees and economic organs on the need for a comprehensive solution of a number of mutually interconnected tasks.

The main task is the **radical renewal of the content of political and economic training and the enhancement of its ideological and theoretical standard**. Restructuring is a period of fundamental changes, a continuation of the cause of October in new historical conditions. It necessitated an objective analysis of the state of affairs in Soviet society and in world developments, encompassing all fundamental problems of man's existence. In answer to the challenge of the times and the most burning questions perturbing Soviet people and the world community, the CPSU put forward new theoretical propositions about the crucial nature of the current stage of history, the trends and contradictions of the present period, the motive forces of social progress, the objective necessity and irreversibility of restructuring, the natural laws governing the progress of socialist society toward a qualitatively new state, and the dialectics of the gradual transition to communism. These propositions, reflected in the CPSU Program and the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) Plenums, will form the content of political and economic education.

At the focus of this education is the concept of acceleration as the biggest achievement of modern Marxist-Leninist thought, as the theoretical and practical expression of the objective demands of the current stage of society's development, aimed at a fruitful renewal of socialism at all levels.

All courses of study will be based on the ideological and theoretical heritage of K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, and the wealth of historical experience of the CPSU and the fraternal parties. The living link between times, policies, and revolutionary traditions, and their consonance with present concerns, must provide the basis and means for making a meaningful interpretation of the present and looking into the future.

In addition to elucidating problems with various aspects of acceleration, the task of elaborating and introducing the following special courses has been set: "Marxism-Leninism as the Scientific Basis of the Revolutionary Transformation of Society:" "The Historical Experience of the CPSU and the Present Time:" "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and Social Progress;" "Political Economy and the Problems of Socialist Production Efficiency;" and "Scientific Communism and Topical Problems of Improving Socialism," which will enable us to satisfy the requirements of Communists and nonparty people. These needs entail systematically and comprehensively mastering the theory of Marxism-Leninism as a whole, as well as its component parts, and correctly assessing the current stage of socialist building, socialism as a fact of our life, and the place, role, and contribution of each person to the practical improvement of socialism. The CPSU proceeds from the premise that loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory does not consist of well-timed references to various tenets of its classics or of efforts to find "suitable" quotations to illustrate current facts. Scholastics and dogmatism have always been an obstacle to a real expansion of knowledge. This self-evident truth was once again borne out by the experience of recent years, when the study of real, live socialism in all its dynamic and contradictory development was frequently replaced by the construction of hypothetical models. Political education was focused on the past, revolving mainly around the rudiments of Marxism-Leninism,and the countless repetition of long-known "basics," while the joy of discovery, the beauty and attractiveness of the revolutionary theory—this supreme intellectual asset of mankind—was transformed into something boring, bureaucratic, and formal.

Hence the most important requirement—the behest of the times—is **changing the very logic of instruction**. It is necessary to revive the dialectical, truly Leninist, creative approach to understanding socialist change's aims and means, to study existing contradictions painstakingly and in depth, and to find effective ways of resolving them. Rather than proceeding from principles formulated in the past, we must proceed from the realities of our existence, from the actual processes taking place in Soviet society and the world, to theoretical generalizations, conclusions, and the conscious interpretation and re-interpretation of the classical heritage and many established notions and concepts such as planning, centralism, democracy, glasnost, social justice, and so forth. Rather than looking to past experiences, even if they have acquitted themselves well in different historical conditions, we must look to the future, without, however, discarding anything positive, and seek to develop and improve it. Let us stride forward relying on Lenin and Marxist-Leninist dialectics. In this lies the essence and meaning of the radical updating of the content of political and economic education.

The updated content of this teaching creates realistic preconditions for consolidating its link with life and the solution of the cardinal problems of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. It is necessary to **steadily increase the practical returns from and impact of this education on all aspects of the life of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and labor collectives.** Every lesson must contribute to creating an atmosphere of creative enthusiasm for work in the new fashion, of high responsibility and energetic efforts to identify the reserves for acceleration, and to contribute to the fulfillment of the tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan. The intelligent, truthful words of propagandists must be geared to solving practical tasks. It is necessary to focus education on improving labor organization, ensuring strict observance of order and discipline in production, and waging an uncompromising struggle against drunkenness, parasitism, and crime.

The CPSU Central Committee attaches fundamental importance to the training of Communists. The main **aim of party training** consists of: inculcating high ideological commitment and awareness in CPSU members, developing in them the qualities of a political fighter, organizer of the masses, and active implementer of the party's general line, and fostering their readiness to subordinate personal interests to social interests and to selflessly serve the people. Every Communist, and Communist leaders in particular, must master Marxist-Leninist dialectics, understand the laws of social development, and be able to creatively interpret our present-day reality to be able to successfully resolve the set tasks.

Komsomol political training is to be restructured in accordance with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 20th Komsomol Congress. In present-day conditions, it is called upon to teach young men and women a communist world outlook, high moral qualities, and a sense of responsibility for the fate of socialism, peace, and future of our motherland. The political education of Komsomol members must be closely geared to practical work, take account of young people's increased spiritual requirements, and contribute to their active involvement in the processes of renewal and democratization of society. The content of Komsomol education is defined by the courses recommended for party education and includes specific problems relating to young people, which are defined by the Komsomol Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee has set the task of **bringing the forms of political education fully in line with its content.** The training of Communists and the nonparty aktiv is to be concentrated at political schools, political and methodological seminars, and universities of Marxism-Leninism; the training of Komsomol members and young people will take place at Komsomol political schools, seminars, and political discussion clubs.

The purpose of this task is not to replace certain schools and seminars with others or to give old forms of education new names. There have been cases of this. The main purpose is to transform these forms of education, by giving them a new content, into a place for the spiritual communication of the working people, into a collective quest for answers to numerous and complex questions constantly raised by life, and into an effective means politically educating the masses. An atmosphere of openness, glasnost, and broad and responsible discussions, imbued with concern for the needs of the people and the fate of the state and society, must be created in all schools and seminars.

Special importance is attached in the new system to **study in accordance with individual schedules.** It is necessary to overcome the practice where this form of self-education was used as a screen by those who did no work at all. In organizing study in accordance with individual schedules, party organizations must proceed from the premise that this form of study is a new development in present conditions and must be developed from scratch. It is necessary to organize consultation centers, permanently operating lecture halls and political clubs, and to hold scientific-and-practical conferences for those learning on their own. All-around assistance must be combined with enhanced responsibility and reinforced supervision.

The restructuring of political education presupposes the extensive **development of its democratic principles.** It is a question of translating into reality the new concept of democratic instruction, which marks a resolute departure from the practice where some only "preach," expounding the facts, and some merely "listen." The free, open expression of personal views, a respectful dialogue, lively discussion of the most vital problems—this is a lever which can be used to discard scholastic methods of instruction, revive interest in theory, and ensure impressing high political standards on the masses.

The new system of education provides the masses with extensive opportunities to extend their political, economic, social, legal, and other knowledge. Party organizations are authorized to select the course best suiting the students' requirements, the needs of a specific labor collective, the ideological situation in the region, or the socioeconomic tasks being tackled. Where necessary, **students attending schools or seminars can even follow a course which is not on the list of recommended courses.** Such a course can be introduced provided the necessary teaching and methodological material is available.

It is necessary to emphasize that **all recommended forms of instruction are experimental rather than established once and for all.** Depending on the prevailing conditions, a party organization may select any form to instruct the working people, including forms not on the list of recommended forms. The main concern is to ensure that the quest for new forms does not lead to the invention of forms for their own sake, to mere experimentation. The concern is that it serve the end result, that is, the high effectiveness of instruction.

Democracy is the **fundamental change in the approach to the formation of the new system**. Political schools, and political and methodological seminars, can now be staffed by Communists, Komsomol members, and members of the nonparty aktiv. Wherever necessary, political education groups can be formed on the basis of basic production subdivisions; they can include all members of a team, section, or livestock unit.

The switch from one form of instruction to another must fully take account of people's requirements and ensure the most effective and purposeful political and economic instruction for a specific category of students. The rational structure of instruction, the number of its forms, the number of attending students, and so forth will be determined for each labor collective by the party organization, in cooperation with the trade union and Komsomol committees and the administration. It will be necessary to take into account the availability of skilled propagandists, the potential of the material and technical base of instruction, the character of the working people's production and social activity, and the standard of their education and political, economic, and vocational training.

The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum emphasized that an essential precondition of successful restructuring national economic management is the enhancement of the economic knowledge of cadres and their ability to apply economic methods of management in an atmosphere of democracy and broad glasnost. In this connection it is necessary **to radically restructure the economic education of the working people**.

In conditions of applying predominantly administrative methods of economic management, which took root in the country in recent decades, an artificial separation occurred between economic and vocational training. Ministries, departments, and economic managers delegated the responsibility for economic training of cadres to party committees. Essentially, it was only propaganda and agitation sections, and political education centers and workshops, which dealt with this for many years. The result is well known. A low standard of cadres' economic education is a widespread phenomenon.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution reestablishes the principle in accordance with which party committees are in charge of the political leadership of economic instruction and define the main avenues of its development. This work is now entrusted to the Economic Department and sector departments of the CPSU Central Committee, union republic communist party central committees, and kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. However, all the specific, practical work in planning and organizing economic instruction within a sector, enhancing its quality and improving its results, and consolidating its material and technical base, is entrusted to the competent ministries, departments, and economic managers. The coordination of their activity in this area is entrusted to the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development. In Lenin's words, it is essentially a question of "ensuring or, rather, continuously ensuring, that on the basis of a correct political decision, long-term, systematic, persistent, patient, multifaceted, and repeated production, propaganda is conducted and **conducted on a statewide scale on behalf and under the leadership of a state institution**." (Footnote) (V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Vol 42 p 296. Highlighted—editor's note).

In the course of the restructuring of economic instruction, two interconnected tasks must be resolved. First, **economic instruction must be combined with production (vocational) instruction,** creating a mass production-and-economic instruction on this basis. The main forms of this instruction are to be schools of socialist management, production-and-economic seminars, and universities of technical and economic knowledge.

The systematic instruction of the working people in mass forms of continuous production-and-economic education directly at enterprises, associations, institutions, and organizations is to be complemented by skill-enhancement and refresher courses for workers, engineering, technical, and office staff at instruction course combines (instruction centers), technical schools, vocational-technical colleges, further education courses, VUZ departments, and institutes, and other specialized educational establishments. This will make it possible to switch from periodic to continuous instruction as early as the end of the current 5-year plan and provide the working people with the opportunity to constantly update and supplement their economic, scientific, and technical knowledge and improve their professional skills.

The role of the AUCCTU, trade union central committees and councils, and enterprise, organization, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz trade union committtees is being substantially enhanced. They are entrusted with the task of organizing, in close cooperation with economic organs, the training of workers and kolkhoz members in schools of socialist management and other forms of mass production-and-economic education. The selection and training of instruction organizers, the consolidation of the material and technical base of instruction, drafting of recommendations for the study of progressive experience, improvement of the work of quality groups and circles, scientific and technical societies, schools of progressive experience, and so forth—this is by no means the full list of spheres where the trade unions are to have a decisive say.

Second, without weakening the voluntary basis of this work, **production-and-economic education is to be included in the state system of cadre skill-enhancement and retraining.**

Naturally, this task cannot be resolved in the course of a single year. It calls for the considerable consolidation of the material and technical base of instruction and for additional financial resources. No foot-dragging is permissible here, either. Success at local level will depend on the initiative and creativeness of labor collectives and the efficient coordination of the efforts of economic and trade union organs.

The implementation of the tasks in the restructuring of political and economic education demands a substantial **improvement in the standard of party leadership.** The CPSU Central Committee has condemned attitudes of indifference and negligence to the instruction of cadres and has called for a resolute end to the underestimation of this matter. Party committees, the CPSU Central Committee resolution emphasizes, must regard political instruction and production-and-economic education as two mutually complementary aspects of the ideological-theoretical and vocational training of the working people and as an integral part of the party's cadre policy. Thus it is a question of ensuring that the implementation of specific, day-to-day leadership of this important sector of the party's activity becomes a concern of the entire party committee and its collective-leadership organs—its plenums and the bureau. Personal responsibility for the theoretical training and ideological and moral tempering of cadres falls on party committee first secretaries.

The basic component in the work to enhance the efficiency and quality of political and economic instruction will be **primary party organizations.** They must increase exactingness toward Communists for the enhancement of their ideological and political standards and for the fulfillment of the stipulations of the CPSU Statutes.

Increased demands are being made on **propaganda cadres.** The body of propagandists must be replenished with intelligent and creative people who are devoted to the cause of the party and able to think analytically in a nonstandard fashion and put up a good argument in defense of Communist ideals. In addition to party, soviet, trade union, and economic leaders, scientists, specialists, figures from literature and the arts, and production innovators and pacesetters must be actively involved in this work. The experience and knowledge of war and labor veterans must be utilized more widely.

In the new conditions the role of **universities of Marxism-Leninism,** which are being amalgamated with party committee political education centers by decision of the CPSU Central Committee, is increasing substantially. An integrated system is thus being created for the selection, quality training, and utilization of propaganda cadres.

In addition to the training of propaganda cadres at universities of Marxism-Leninism, extensive use is to be made for this purpose of 2-week release courses to be held at political education centers and institutes and also of further education courses and permanently functioning seminars organized by local party, economic, and trade union organs.

The success of restructuring will depend largely on the improvement of the **teaching and methodological aids of instruction.** The CPSU Central Committee documents set the task of producing essentially new syllabuses, textbooks, and teaching aids. They must be written in alive and vivid language and be fully in line with the updated content of political instruction and its new logic.

Considerable **consolidation is needed of the material and technical base** of political education centers and workshops. They must be equipped with the necessary copying, video projection, and television display equipment and cine and photo laboratories and materials, and steps must be taken toward their computerization. Special attention must be paid to rural raykom and party committee political education workshops.

The restructuring of instruction is a complex and multilevel process. The adoption of the documents is merely the conclusion of its initial, preparatory stage, the stage of the elaboration of the concept of the restructuring of the system of political and economic education and its main avenues. No less responsible tasks lie ahead. The task now is to move the ideas of the restructuring of instruction into the realm of practical deeds. Much is to be done in the 1987-1988 academic year. Its key characteristic feature consists in the fact that it coincides with the preparations and celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the convocation of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The party documents pertaining to the October jubilee must be fully utilized to make the content of instruction more topical and to enhance its ideological and theoretical standard. The continuation of the courses under the titles of "Accelerating the Country's Socioeconomic Development—the Strategic Line of the CPSU" and "Production Intensification" are to serve the same purpose.

At the end of the new academic year the results of the work of the country's national economy during the first half of the 12th 5-Year Plan are to be summed up. In order to ensure that these results are more tangible it is necessary to step up the labor effort and to increase as much as possible the creative return from every collective. It is necessary right now to make sure that political and economic education contributes to the maximum identification of production reserves and the development of the processes of democratization, glasnost, and self-management. The proposed topic for the first lesson in all forms of instruction is "Deepening the Process of Restructuring Through Practical Work."

In the academic year which is just beginning a great deal is to be done to prepare the transition to the new system of instruction during the 1988-1989 academic year.

The documents adopted by the CPSU Central Committee serve as the basic guidelines for the restructuring of political and economic education. Life and practical experience will deepen our ideas about the most effective way of resolving the prescribed tasks. There will be quite a few new problems and difficulties along this path, and there will also be mistakes. However, the most serious mistake, as M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized, is being afraid of making a mistake. It is necessary to proceed more courageously in discarding ingrained stereotypes and habits and enriching the practice of instruction with constructive proposals which take account of the results of experiments and of the interests of the working people and turn knowledge into convictions, and vital principles and theoretical propositions into practical actions. Only then can we count on success in the restructuring of instruction.

NOVOYE VREMYA Editor on Press Reforms

AU281054 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG No 37 13 Sep 87 p 7

[Interview with Vitaliy Ignatenko, chief editor of the NOVOYE VREMYA, to correspondent Ferenc Varnai: "The-Behind-the Scenes Press Secrets—Information Revolution in the Soviet Union"—in Budapest, date not given]

[Excerpts] Vitaliy Igantenko, the new chief editor of the *Novoye Vremya*, visited Hungary in early September at the invitation of the editorial staff of *Magyarorszag*. The 46-year-old journalist has been head of this world-famous Soviet foreign political weekly appearing in 10 languages and 600,000 issues for more than a year. [passage omitted]

[Varnai] They say that Soviet domestic political journalism has far exceeded the foreign political one. As head of a foreign policy weekly, what do you think about this?

[Ignatenko] I must admit that this is the truth. There are long lines of people in front of news stands all over the Soviet Union at dawn; people are waiting for morning papers. This is not because of foreign news and articles in the newspapers but to get information on the progress of restructuring in the country and the latest developments in certain republics, districts, and towns.

The journalists who deal with domestic policy and who are playing a considerable part in assisting the restructuring process have nowadays outrivaled their colleagues who write about foreign events and have achieved greater prestige, although it used to be precisely the other way round. I must add that I, myself, do not agree with this classification of journalists, that is, foreign or domestic journalists. In my opinion, there are only good or bad journalists. A good journalist is one who gets to the bottom of any subject and writes in a colorful and interesting way, giving food for thought. [passage omitted]

[Varnai] What does the *Novoye Vremya* do to overcome the "lagging behind"?

[Ignatenko] So far, we cannot boast of success in reaching the desired level. But some of our journalists arouse the interests not only of the demanding Soviet readers but also of foreign readers and colleagues with their articles.

An example in this area is the article written by Soviet Academy Member Georgiy Smirnov we published at the end of August. The writer analyzes the history of our international relations in the period directly preceding the Second World War, with the goal that we responsibly confront in this area the errors and shortcomongs we committed. I quote a section from Smirnov's article:

"On 20 August 1939, ten days before the outbreak of the war, Poland's foreign minister officially announced that there was no military agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union, and Poland had no intention of making such an agreement. The Soviet Government began to take diplomatic and military actions to prevent the further approach of the German army toward the Soviet border. On 17 September 1939 the Red Army crossed over the state border and took over the protection of Northern Ukraine's and Western Belorussia's population.

"During this time certain individuals who held leading positions in the Soviet State made improper statements which did not engender the favorable creation of fraternal relations with the Poles. Thus, for instance, Vyacheslav M. Molotov, the president of the the People's Committee Council, recounted at the fifth Special Meeting of the Supreme Soviet on 31 October 1939, saying that he considered the State of Poland to be incorrect, describing it as the deformed child born of Versailles. This type of announcement is contrary to historical truth and is unallowable regarding the Polish people....this erroneous and deprecating evaluation is irreconcilable with the Soviet people's belief in internationalism.

"The independent Polish state was restored with the historical purpose of rewarding the aspirations of the long-suppressed Polish people. Thus, in October, 1917, as a result of the revolutionary events, the agreements and accords concerning the partition of Poland signed by the one-time government of the Russian Empire were nullified. This contributed greatly to the national self-determination of fraternal Poland."

I think this and other similar foreign policy articles based on this theory aid in bringing us closer together.

[Varnai] How is the Soviet public reacting to the new tone?

[Ignatenko] In the last 1-2 years, there has been an unprecedented increase in public interest in newspapers, radio, and television.

Pravda, for example, receives about 1 million letters a year, as does *Izvestiya*; and the correspondence of the other newspapers has also increased considerably. Letters sent to radio and television editors can be counted only in millions. [passage omitted]

[Varnai] How is press management carried out in the Soviet Union?

[Ignatenko] It is carried out nowadays in a very democratic way. There is no direct guidance or regulation. There are, however, thorough discussions and consultations; facts, evaluations, and information are supplied to us. The leadership is ready to provide us all the necessary help.

There are 70,000 newspapers which appear in the Soviet Union; there are two national television programs, four channels in Moscow alone, one or two local programs in each republic, and the local language programs. The number of radio stations is several times bigger than this. Directing all these from one center is inconceivable.

[Varnai] Do you not receive guidelines from the party center and the Foreign Ministry?

[Ignatenko] We do not receive guidelines in the direct sense of the word. But if I feel that I need advice, they listen to me and answer my questions. I know the decisions of the Central Committee, and, taking into consideration the opinions of my colleagues, I decide myself. [passage omitted]

[Varnai] Are there taboo subjects?

[Ignatenko] Yes, there are. It is forbidden for the Soviet press to incite war, hatred against other peoples, and conduct propaganda aimed at overthrowing the Soviet power.

[Varnai] Is it forbidden to publish in the name of state or party interests?

[Ignatenko] Previously, there was no end to the number of taboos and undesirable subjects; entire areas were close to criticism. Today, however, even in the most sensitive issues like defense or the special interests of the state and the party, with joint forces, we try to find a solution that permits the issue to be published. [passage omitted]

Letters Cite Opposition to Restructuring

PM021635 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 September 1987 Second Edition carries on page 1 under the general headline "About Restructuring" a collection of readers' letters. The first is a letter from A. Gavrilov, N. Zaytsev, and S. Savchenko, workers at Kharkov Tractor Plant, under the heading "More Frankness":

"We approve of our party's policy. We read in the central newspapers, see on television, and hear on the radio a great deal about restructuring in our country and about glasnost. All this is good, and restructuring is taking place in our plant—state acceptance has been introduced, for example.

"Why are we writing a letter? We would like to have better knowledge about what is being done for man's good in our city and oblast, what has changed for the better, and what for the worse. We Kharkov residents are served very badly—in trade, in consumer services, in housing organizations.

"We read all kinds of obkom and gorkom resolutions in the local newspapers, but, in our view, things are not changing. Why does our obkom first secretary not come to us—to meet with people? We have not seen him, and we know M.S. Gorbachev better."

This is followed by a letter from the Tatar ASSR by I. Goncharov entitled "Essentially Formally." After voicing support for the policy of restructuring and pointing out that people in the plant where he works are fully devoted to their work, he continues: "But not all, because there are also loafers, spongers, drunkards, and truants who advocate fulfilling the laws' requirements when this concerns their selfish interests and shout loudly when they are punished in all severity along disciplinary and public lines. Such people will not quickly restructure their way of thinking. The reason is poor ideological and educational work."

The third letter is from Moscow physician E. Volskiy under the title "About Those Going Into Battle":

"I am very concerned at the fate of restructuring and the people struggling for it. Unless the people speaking the truth and the true champions of restructuring are protected from attacks, persecution, and revenge, the cause of revolutionary transformations in our country could suffer badly. Those who liked the old ways because they enabled them to lead a quiet life, doing nothing, are still in power, are very strong, and will stop at nothing.

"Someone who comes out openly and honestly against the negative phenomena of our life and against bureaucrats, formalists, and petty-minded officials lays himself open to the danger of inevitable disfavor and dooms

himself to the fate of being ground up in the mincer of vengeance for criticism. This must not happen. It is against our moral principles.

"What tremendous, irreparable harm is done to our society by the persecution of an honest, truthful person. People cannot help getting the idea that it is dangerous to struggle against strong people, that you cannot overcome them. In a collective where a lover of the truth has been punished there will certainly be few people wishing to follow his example. Such situations undermine faith in restructuring, faith in justice. Some people wish to convince our public that restructuring has no opponents. That is not so. Restructuring is a revolution, and which revolution in the history of mankind has not had opponents?! They are perfectly real today, and they will stand to the finish. It is the duty of all the mass media to say openly and honestly who is hindering us and how, and what must be done to remove these obstacles from our path. Then we will be able to cope more quickly with our tasks. May those going into battle be calm and confident of the rightness of our cause!"

The fourth letter, from S. Khomishinets, polisher at Omsk's Siberian Plant Named for the Fighters of the Revolution, is carried under the headline "Whom Are We Deceiving?":

"Last year our own substandard output worth a large amount was returned to our plant. There was a report on this in the local newspaper. You might think that the fact had been made public and the guilty persons punished. But there are still shoddy goods just the same, and they endeavor to push substandard products through, bypassing the technical control department. The leadership's chief concern is to fulfill the plan by any means. We work 12 hours a day. The outcome is neither plan fulfillment nor product quality. On the other hand, there is a bonus...

"I have repeatedly turned to Shop Chief Abrosimov, the plant director, the Pervomayskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office, and the raykom with regard to shoddy goods. All are silent, as though by agreement with each other. I hear a rebuke against myself: We do not make components for aircraft but for tractors—shoddy goods will be all right on a kolkhoz."

The next letter, from E. Gadzhiyev, deputy secretary of the primary party organization of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences Institute of Geology in Baku, is titled "We Rehearse... a Demonstration." He complains of "excessive pompousness and overregimentation" in the preparations for festive demonstrations in which his institute is expected to participate and of the time and money spent on rehearsing for them.

The final letter is from some women workers of the "Znamya Truda" Kolkhoz in Voronezh Oblast's Ternovskiy Rayon under the heading "Sick of Living in a Drugged Atmosphere." The writers complain that, although official sales of liquor have been banned in the rayon, moonshine is freely available at a price and the names of distillers of moonshine are well known. However, the letter continues: "We ourselves cannot deal with the moonshiners. They put up an all-around defense. People tried to write a complaint in the village of Dubrovka, but the scoundrels mutilated the cows of those who complained and played other mean tricks on them. We have a list of moonshiners, and we will show it with pleasure. But please do not mention our names. Restructuring has not yet gotten through to us."

1937 'Reprisals' Against Commissar Recalled

PM071433 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Selskaya Zhizn* in Russian on 26 September 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,100-word article pegged to the 70th anniversary of Great October, entitled "First People's Commissar." The article, by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Raykhtsaum, chief of a department of the Central State Archive of the October Revolution and USSR supreme organs of state power and organs of state government, relates the career of the first people's commissar for farming, Vladimir Pavlovich Milyutin. The article briefly describes Milyutin's early activity as a "professional revolutionary" and then moves on to 1917, his brief commissarship and subsequent career, pointing out that many of his ideas are of "topical interest even today." The article goes on to quote from Milyutin's articles and speeches.

In his concluding remarks Raykhtsaum writes: "One could probably go on quoting from Vladimir Pavlovich Milyutin's works ad infinitum. Scarcely anywhere would he appear 'obsolete,' his ideas stagnant or conservative. The pity is that his life was brought to a premature end: In the tragic year of 1937 he, along with dozens of his party comrades, was a victim of the reprisals. But the name of V.P. Milyutin will not be forgotten: Not only because fate granted him the opportunity to become our country's first people's commissar for farming, but also because whatever post he held, he devoted every last ounce of effort and knowledge and rich experience of life to serving the revolution and his people."

Purged, Rehabilitated Party Veteran Profiled

PM071437 [Editorial Report] Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 38, on 21-27 September 1987 (signed to press on 23 September 1987) carries on page 5 under the rubric "Fighters of the Revolution" and under the headline "The Irtysh Commissar. 100 Years Since the Birth of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Dianov" a 600-word article by Valeriy Frolov, scientific associate of the Omsk CPSU Obkom party archive, datelined Omsk and outlining the life and work of party functionary A.N. Dianov from 1898 to his death in 1975.

Frolov says:

"In 1937 he, a member of the party since 1905, was arrested and sentenced as an 'enemy of the people.' He spent many years in detention and in exile. It was only in 1955 that the undeserved label of wrecker was removed from Dianov's name, and he was afterwards restored to the party."

Ivanov Answers DER SPIEGEL on Trotskiy

PM021240 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Sep 87 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V. Ivanov under the "Correspondence on Historical Topics" rubric: "Repainting Judas"; passages in boldface as published]

[Text] **The West German magazine *Der Spiegel* recently published a lengthy, 2,000-word, article with illustrations about contemporary assessments in the Soviet Union of some events of the first years of the revolution, prefacing it with the meaningful headline "Trotskiy, the dictator's sworn enemy, is now becoming a 'hero and martyr.'" Citing publications in our press, including items on historical themes in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, the magazine regards the objective account of the facts as some kind of indication of "Trotskiy's rehabilitation" which, it claims,"is being ensured by journalists." Without batting an eyelash *Der Spiegel* assured its readers that the mass newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* had early this year published a photograph of Trotskiy as leader of the army without giving his name and later, in June, had allegedly continued his rehabilitation. Revelling in its "subtle" constructions, the magazine cannot refrain from the emotive outburst: "...Trotskiy's ghost is still wandering through Russia's universities and studies where the world-renowned revolutionary is remembered as a legend..."**

Discarding the emotive content, there is probably some point in using the real historical facts to check this legend which has recently been foisted on us so persistently by editorial offices like *Der Spiegel*, **by voices like French radio, and other sources that perplexed letters have even appeared in our mail. To this end we give the floor to Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.M. Ivanov under our traditional "Correspondence on Historical Topics" rubric.**

The authors of the article in *Der Spiegel*, to which we will return repeatedly in our talk, are unstinting in flattering epithets and they present L.D. Trotskiy to their readers as a "great revolutionary" whose services to the revolution were, if not greater than, at least not less than those of V.I. Lenin.

"Who organized the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks? Who was the first foreign minister of the new Soviet state, who created the Red Army and won the civil war?"—setting out whole clusters of such rhetorical questions where poisonous lies are perfidiously concealed by the clothing of half-truth, the magazine sketches the impressive outlines of the "hero" and speculatively notes: "The answers to these questions have been falsified in the USSR for over 50 years." Of the article's 2,000 words literally not one examined or refuted even one party document or countered Lenin's assessments of Trotskiy and Trotskiyism formed in the first quarter of this century. It would be useful to make up for this omission.

But first of all let's ask: Who was Trotskiy? How and why did he join the revolutionary movement? What account did he give of himself as a participant in the prerevolutionary years? The authors of the *Der Spiegel* article assiduously circumvent these details of Trotskiy's biography. Yet, as *Sovetskaya Rossiya* readers reasonably note in their letters, they are important for understanding and assessing Trotskiy's personality and the nature of his actions and behavior.

L.D. Trotskiy (Bronshteyn) was born in the family of a big landlord in southern Russia and all his closest relatives belonged to bourgeois circles. Trotskiy's father started 1917 with a wealth of nearly R1 million. When the Revolution took place the son helped the father to set himself up "in the bread business" in famine-stricken Moscow.

While he was still a pupil in the senior grades at non-classical secondary school, Lev Bronshteyn became attracted to the concepts of the liberal populists and with them struggled against the dissemination of Marxism. "I considered myself an opponent of Marx, whose books, it is true, I had not read," he admitted later.

On becoming closely associated with a young woman, with her assistance he made the acquaintance of the social democrats and joined the "South Russian Workers Union" operating in Nikolayev. After the destruction of this small amateurish organization under the influence of the supporters of economism, Bronshteyn and his wife were arrested and then sent to Siberia. In Odessa prison they became acquainted for the first time with some of the works of Marx and Engels and immediately concluded that their views "coincided" with his opinions. The pseudonym of Trotskiy which he adopted was connected with his term in prison (It was the surname of one of the overseers).

In 1902 Trotskiy escaped from exile in Irkutsk, leaving his wife and two daughters in Siberia. He went abroad and immediately became associated with Akselrod and other future Menshevik leaders, and began to work on *Iskra* **despite the vigorous objections from Plekhanov, who had always suspected Trotskiy of being concerned not for the interests of the revolution but for his own revolutionary career.**

While in exile, in contrast to many Russian revolutionaries, Trotskiy lived quite comfortably. He managed to acquire higher education during this time. He became

involved with a Russian student, N. Sedova, the daughter of a first-guild merchant, who became his second wife and the mother of his son Lev, who, incidentally, took an active part in his father's anti-Soviet activity in the thirties.

Taking advantage of the authority of the Siberian Social Democratic Union, Trotskiy appointed himself a delegate to the second Russian Social Democratic Workers Party [RSDWP] congress. He surpassed many in terms of the number of his speeches at the congress, striking the participants with his extreme lack of principle. Even the loquacious Bund member Libor, a future ideological soulmate of Trotskiy's, remarked in a fit of temper: "He pulls out various principles like labels depending on which is most convenient."

The Mensheviks submitted their list of Central Committee candidates, which included Trotskiy. But, as is well known, Lenin's supporters were elected to the Central Committee by a majority of votes. A month after the end of the congress a conference of 17 Mensheviks in Geneva formed their party's leading organs and the bureau included Martov, Dan, Potresov, Akselrod, and Trotskiy. The conference approved a plan of struggle against the Bolsheviks elaborated by Martov and Trotskiy.

Describing Trotskiy's article published by the Menshevik press in those years, M.S. Olminskiy noted that he "is lying for the sake of lying, he will lie and 'forget,' and will again lie and forget." In the brochure "Our Political Tasks," outlining the Menshevik views on questions of party building, Trotskiy accused the Bolsheviks of formalism, of striving to "supplant" the working class and establish a "dictatorship" of the party over the proletariat; attributed to the Bolsheviks the intention of building the party according to the model of a capitalist factory, turning the Social Democrats into obedient "wheels" and "cogs;" and accused Lenin of being a "dictator" and "usurper." Naturally, both Mensheviks and bourgeois liberals applauded Trotskiy for his work. But progressive workers indignantly condemned this slander.

That was the time when Trotskiy, having become entangled in intrigues, came into personal conflict with Dan (who was very close to Martov) and was forced to leave the Menshevik leadership center. He proclaimed himself to be outside any factions, but actually continued his cooperation with the Mensheviks. From the start of the first revolution in Russia, Trotskiy switched from right-wing opportunist positions to the positions of "left-wing" opportunism, retaining his former ideological affinity with the Mensheviks. As Lenin wrote, he "returned to the Mensheviks in 1905, parading only ultra-revolutionary phraseology."

Trotskiy's claims to a special position in the social democratic movement were finally formulated in connection with the idea of the so-called "theory of permanent revolution." Attempting to present Lenin's teaching of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship as the concept of the proletariat's "self-restriction" in the democratic revolution, Trotskiy declared that the working class ought to establish its dictatorship even at that stage and later, before it was swept away by the peasantry "hostile" to socialism, transport the revolution by means of "revolutionary-aggressive tactics" (in other words via armed invasion) to countries that are better prepared for socialism. V.I. Lenin took a stand against this adventurist concept. People like Trotskiy, who claimed that revolution could be born in a foreign land to order, were described by Lenin as either fools or provocateurs.

It must be said that whenever Trotskiy distanced himself from extreme opportunist positions, V.I. Lenin positively assessed these steps. However, it very soon became clear that any differences between Trotskiy and other opportunists were just a matter of detail.

Way back in February 1917 Vladimir Ilich had this to say about Trotskiy in letters to comrades: "So much for Trotskiy!! He is always the same—prevaricating, cheating, posing as a left-winger, helping the right-wingers whenever he can...."

Of course, alongside his excessive ambition, egoism, selfishness, and conceit, Trotskiy also possessed the will, personal courage, and decisiveness that are so necessary for revolutionary activity. But he lacked the main quality of a proletarian revolutionary—the ideological belief in the correctness of the cause for whose sake the party struggled and made unprecedented sacrifices. This is why he found it so easy to change his ideological tenets and so often adapted himself to what he perceived as more promising ideological movements.

On his return to Russia from exile in May 1917, Trotskiy joined the RSDWP interrayon united organization, which had taken a stance somewhere between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. Many "interrayon" figures advocated union with the Bolsheviks. Trotskiy opposed this, saying that "the Bolsheviks have debolshevized themselves" and that "we cannot be asked to recognize Bolshevism." He advocated rapprochement with the Mensheviks, adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the bourgeois Provisional Government, tried to raise doubts about the correctness of Lenin's course toward socialist revolution, and declared that the prerequisites for socialism were nonexistent in Russia.

Following the crushing of the July demonstration, Trotskiy voluntarily went to the authorities and asked to be locked in jail. There he dissociated himself from the Bolsheviks, declaring that he maintained ties with just one Bolshevik figure—Kamenev, who was married to Trotskiy's sister.

Please excuse me for narrating again widely known facts, but *Der Spiegel* is most indignant because it claims that, just as in the past, it could not find anything about Trotskiy in Soviet publications. Surely, any respectable library would offer the inquirer an extensive selection of

published works, let alone the dozens of volumes of Lenin's works where the political portrait of the hero of phraseology is painted from nature, so to speak.

One of the main questions which still gives rise to a multiplicity of fabrications concerns Trotskiy's role in the October Revolution. Do you recall the rhetoric: Who organized the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks? Who was the first minister?...

To an uninformed reader, the magazine's questions sound like some sort of sensation, creating the impression that this is a revelation of something that has been carefully concealed and covered up. But this, let me repeat, applies only to uninformed readers.

Essentially, there is nothing new either in the questions themselves nor in the objective pursued by asking them. It is only a return to a story which was widely covered by the press at the time and, moreover, was the subject of open discussion on "The Lessons of October" in 1924.

It is well known that following V.I. Lenin's death, first Trotskiy's ideological soulmates and later he himself published a whole series of articles denigrating and distorting the role played by Vladimir Ilich in the revolution and going all out to overemphasize the personality of Trotskiy himself. Even the Mensheviks' emigre organ *Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik* was forced to admit that Trotskiy's recollections of Lenin contained "'information' which, coming from someone else, would sound like slander and downright ridicule." In his memoirs and articles Trotskiy claimed that "prewar" Leninism did not live up to expectations and Lenin himself supposedly abandoned it in 1917, that Lenin supported a narrow conspiratorial plot organized behind the soviets' back, and that Lenin had a stubborn desire to unleash terror against the overthrown exploiters' classes.

The inconsistency of Trotskiy's attempts to present himself as the main central figure of the October Revolution and of the "theory" of October's two leaders which was fabricated by his supporters, the transparency of slanderous fabrications about the "ideological rearmament" of Bolshevism and the two "Leninisms," and the absurdity of the claim that the "theory of permanent revolution" allegedly became the "theory" of the preparation and accomplishment of the October Revolution—all these were convincingly proven during the discussion. But since these decrepit legends have again been dragged into the daylight, there is good reason for recreating certain events in the interests of historical truth.

First about how Trotskiy found himself at the head of the Petrograd Soviet. As we have already said, following the July 1917 events he voluntarily surrendered to the authorities, preferring to be locked up in jail. That was the time when the Sixth RSDWP (Bolsheviks) Congress was held, at which the "interrayon party" merged with the Bolshevik Party. Two of its representatives—Trotskiy and Uritskiy—were elected to Central Committee membership. The question of changing the composition of the Petrograd Soviet's leadership organs came up following the rout of the Kornilov insurrection. That was when Trotskiy, just released from jail, was proposed as chairman at Kamenev's initiative.

Trotskiy spent just 1 month holding this post in the pre-October days. His activity basically boiled down to the delivery of speeches, more often than not lengthy and superficial. According to John Reed's testimony, even on the eve of the uprising Trotskiy spent 6, 8, and even 12 hours a day speaking from the Petrograd Soviet's rostrum, with simply no time left for practical actions. This fact forced F.E. Dzerzhinskiy at the 21 October 1917 session of the RSDWP (Bolsheviks) Central Committee to raise very sharply the question of the total disorganization of the Petrograd Soviet Ispolkom headed by Trotskiy. Following a decision by the Petrograd party committee, 10 more eminent Bolsheviks—Dzerzhinskiy, Stalin, Volodarskiy, and others—were urgently posted to work on the ispolkom.

Trotskiy's attempts to wreck the military-technical preparation of the uprising (Trotskiy described it as a conspiracy) and to postpone the solution of the question of power until the Second Congress of soviets was convened became particularly dangerous for the revolution. This maneuver was unequivocally backed by Kamenev and Zinovyev who, just like Trotskiy, demanded that the uprising be replaced by legal methods of struggle—convening the congress of soviets and then a constituent assembly. The Bolshevik Party was assigned the role of "influential opposition" in this process.

This path was decisively rejected. Back in September Lenin had mapped out a precise plan for the uprising: "**Power** must be placed immediately in the hands of the Petrograd Soviet **which will hand it over** to the congress of soviets." This was indeed how, regardless of opposition by opportunists and waverers, the October Revolution took place. But Trotskiy, in all his articles and books about October, stubbornly asserted that the uprising gained victory precisely as he had predicted, in other words by peaceful legal means, by means of resolutions, voting, and debates at sessions of the Petrograd Soviet and later at the congress of soviets. "The uprising was three-fourths, if not nine-tenths, accomplished even before 25-26 October," Trotskiy wrote in his article "The Lessons of October." And further on: Kamenev and Zinovyev, speaking against the uprising, "undoubtedly rendered certain services to the uprising by nurturing the enemy's illusions with their own illusions."

Not even stopping at downright calumny, Trotskiy presented matters as if V.I. Lenin, arriving at the Smolnyy Palace to lead the uprising, learned from him that it was proceeding according to Trotskiy's plan and "fell silent, pondered, and said: 'Oh well, that's one way of doing it.

As long as we take power.' I realized that only at that moment had he finally accepted the fact that we had abandoned the idea of seizing power by means of a conspiratorial plot."

But what did really happen at the Smolnyy Institute after Vladimir Ilich's arrival there?

Testimony by G.I. Lomov (people's commissar of justice in the first government):

"Lenin is seething and boiling. He is scoffing at our lack of resolve. All necessary directives must be issued right now and we must take all buildings, all government institutions, all stations, telephones, and telegraphs into our hands, taking advantage of Kerenskiy's lack of resolve. From that moment it was as though there were no hesitations, no caution... At night—about 0300 hours—the situation had become perfectly clear: Power was in fact in our hands."

In his memoirs Trotskiy asserted that on the night of 24-25 October, together with Kamenev who had rushed to his assistance, he led the "insurgent regiments" from the office of the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet in the Smolnyy Institute while Lenin appeared there only the next day, when the uprising had already definitively won. Allegedly taking advantage of the absence of Trotskiy, who had gone to rest after a sleepless night, Lenin outlined the composition of the Soviet government under his leadership. But it is well known that the headquarters for the uprising was not the office of the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet but the Military-Revolutionary Committee, which worked in close contact with the Bolshevik Party Central Committee and with V.I. Lenin personally. According to V.A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, one of the leaders of the armed uprising and a member of the Revolutionary-Military Committee, they "were aware of Trotskiy not as an organizing principle but predominantly as a delaying, restraining principle alien to Lenin's leadership." "Organic distrust in the Bolshevik Party could be discerned" in his orders.

The row which Trotskiy launched concerning the "revision" of historical events again revealed all his moral dishonesty as a revolutionary. Even people from the camp of the counterrevolution described him with utmost frankness. "Trotskiy is a talented fraud for whom the revolution was the stage for displaying his own capabilities and obtaining power and glory," V. Voytinskiy noted.

In the prerevolutionary period Trotskiy did not conceal his dislike of Vladimir Ilich and constantly opposed his theoretical and political premises. There is no point here in enumerating all the insults and stories which he employed. After the second congress Trotskiy together with the other Mensheviks raised "a rebellion against Leninism"—that is how Martov described these actions. At the height of the very sharp struggle between the Bolsheviks and the liquidationists and the otzovists [those in favor of withdrawing from legal forms of struggle] Trotskiy predicted: "There will be a great battle—and Lenin will die in it." He urged the Mensheviks to destroy "the very foundations of Leninism." Moreover, not long before he joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917, Trotskiy reproached one of his former colleagues (Melnichanskiy) for "rushing to link himself to the Bolsheviks." Having become a member of the Bolshevik Party and then the Soviet Government, Trotskiy, of course, expressed himself with more reserve. His nonacceptance of Leninism at that time was displayed in a veiled form. But it remained. His direspect for Lenin is borne out also by the following fact: When he learned of the death of the party's leader he did not even interrupt his vacation in Sukhumi and did not attend the funeral. As Trotskiy himself wrote later in his book "My Life," on that tragic day for the country he stood on the seashore and as he breathed "absorbed with my entire essence the certainty of my historical correctness."

Now about Trotskiy's activity in the post-October period. *Der Spiegel* highlights his participation in the first Soviet government. Yes, V.I. Lenin did indeed suggest including Trotskiy in the first government, assigning him the post of people's commissar for foreign affairs. But the actual leader of the young Soviet state's foreign policy activity was V.I. Lenin—there is more than enough evidence here from foreigners alone. Indeed, Trotskiy himself admitted that he regarded his term as people's commissar for foreign affairs as temporary. He believed that the socialist state could not have foreign affairs because a world proletarian revolution would come, eliminating all state borders. Unless this happened in the very near future, Trotskiy predicted, Soviet power was doomed and would not hold out in a situation of hostile capitalist encirclement.

It was this viewpoint, far removed from Marxism, which defined Trotskiy's line of conduct in the period of the struggle for Soviet Russia's withdrawal from the war against Germany, as *Sovetskaya Rossiya* has described in sufficient detail. As is well known, the breakdown of the Brest-Litovsk talks, for which Trotskiy was to blame, was used by Germany as a pretext for resuming its offensive. Since Trotskiy had announced the dissolution of the Russian Army, the German troops succeeded in seizing enormous territories and reaching the distant approaches to Petrograd.

In the situation of the military crisis mortally dangerous to the revolution, there began the sobering up of the "heroes of the 'left' phrase" as V.I. Lenin called the supporters of the continuation of the war with Germany. But Trotskiy and Bukharin, who was under his political influence, and several others, did not abandon their reckless policy. At the seventh party congress Trotskiy stated that if the international proletariat could not rebuff German imperialism that meant "we have appeared too soon and must withdraw underground..."

From party documents we know that the seventh congress of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks denounced the position of the "left" adventurists. As a sign of protest Trotskiy ostentatiously stated that he was withdrawing from all the posts he held. Describing the behavior of the "revolutionaries" of the phrase, V.I. Lenin said that their subjective "mentality" is the mentality of a raging petit bourgeois." [quotation marks as published]

That was his principled assessment of Trotskiy's behavior.

But he remained in the leadership. Taking into account Trotskiy's organizatinal abilities, they entrusted him with the post of leader of the people's commissariat for military and naval affairs and later the post of chairman of the Republic's Revolutionary Military Council, created under the conditions of the civil war. The organization of the Red Army, its leadership, and the solution of very important military-strategic and operational questions was a very important matter for the entire party and its Central Committee. V.I. Lenin headed the emergency organ created for the war period—the workers and peasants defense soviet.

Trotskiy's activity as leader of the military department was under constant control, which made it possible frequently to thwart erroneous adventurist actions which threatened to lead to serious consequences for the defense of the socialist fatherland. For instance, with V.I. Lenin's participation the following were thwarted: the adventure initiated by Trotskiy, who ordered the shooting of a number of eminent political workers on the Eastern front for the betrayal of soviet power by a group of military specialists; the demand to end the pursuit of the defeated Kolkchak beyond the Urals; Trotskiy's proposal to send a cavalry corps via Afghanistan to India to accomplish a revolution there...and many other incorrect steps. His political and military errors were sharply criticized at the eighth Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks and a number of party Central Committee plenums.

From all that has been said, it can be seen that after joining the Bolshevik Party Trotskiy was sharply criticized by V.I. Lenin on fundamental questions of domestic and international policy. Why did Vladimir Ilich nonetheless not propose releasing Trotskiy from leading work in the Soviet government, which now gives *Der Spiegel* a pretext for talking of some kind of exception?

In addressing the events of history, we must examine them from the positions of that time. Let us imagine the general situation: first, the most difficult position of the Republic of the Soviets, and one after the other, the civil war, foreign intervention and postwar destruction. In such a situation, I think, it was necessary to utilize any force at the party's command, including one which is not always reliable. Second, the gigantic shortage of cadres. Third, the international fame of Trotskiy, who the leaders of the German, Austrian, and some other social-democratic parties knew, and the support of a number of influential figures such as Bukharin, Kamenev, and Pyatakov. Finally, V.I. Lenin's desire to influence Trotskiy and convince him of the need to submit to the decisions and traditions of the party and to put his undoubted abilities to the service of the party. It is well known that in cadres policy V.I. Lenin showed the highest principledness and high exactingness in combination with comradely trust, he never sank to intrigue, and was never guided either by personal attachments or antipathies. All this was demonstrated in his relation to Trotskiy as well. After Trotskiy had joined the Bolshevik Party, V.I. Lenin criticized him for mistakes in the spirit of the norms of party ethics in the proper form. More than once Vladimir Ilich spoke positively of individual aspects of Trotskiy's activity both as a member of the party Central Committee and as a member of the Soviet Government. In November 1917, for example, he held up Trotskiy as an example to Kamenev and Zinovyev for managing to break with the Mensheviks. He assessed positively Trotskiy's activity in the post of leader of the war department under the conditions of the post-Brest peace respite. V.I. Lenin also noted Trotskiy's services in regulating military discipline in the Red Army.

In his famous conversation with Gorkiy (its contents are reproduced by Aleksey Maksimovich in the pamphlet "V.I. Lenin") Vladimir Ilich pointed to Trotskiy's organizing abilities put to use in the revolution. But as Gorkiy remembered, at that time V.I. Lenin turned his attention to such features of Trotskiy's personality as his extreme ambition. "With us, but not one of us"—that was how Vladimir Ilich laconically but very aptly described Trotskiy's position in the party and in the revolutionary movement.

He adhered to this assessment later. In the well-known "Letter to the Congress" Vladimir Ilich singled out Trotskiy as, perhaps, the most able member of the Central Committee. At the same time he recalled that his pre-October non-Bolshevism was not accidental, that he was distinguished by his excessive self-confidence and ability to struggle against the Central Committee and was excessively interested in the administrative side of work.

Trotskiy interpreted this correct and loyal attitude as a manifestation of weakness. His factional activity against the party and its Central Committee became increasingly fierce. A majority of the members of the Central Committee, as documents prove, directly raised the question of the need to dismiss Trotskiy from leading party and state work. The 13th congress of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks, which took place in January 1924 (128 delegates with a casting vote and 222 delegates with a consultative vote were present), discussed the results of the debate with the Trotskiyites and in its resolution, adopted with three votes against, admitted:

"In the present opposition we have before us not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only a direct departure from Leninism, but also a clearly expressed petit bourgeois tendency. There is no doubt that this opposition objectively reflects the pressure of the petit bourgeoisie on the position of the proletarian party and its policy."

Even Kamenev and Zinovyev, whom V.I. Lenin was already calling inconsistent Trotskiyites, demanded at the end of 1924 that Trotskiy be expelled from the party Central Committee. Both these figures, who soon joined with the Trotskiyites in a single bloc, accused the Central Committee of having too soft and conciliatory an attitude to Trotskiy.

The resolution of the January 1925 Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum noted that Trotskiy had mounted a direct campaign against the foundations of the Bolshevik world outlook. The plenum most categorically warned Trotskiy and released him from his duties as people's commissar for military and naval matters. All the country's party organizations, fraternal communist parties and the Comintern Ispolkom approved the decision of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Central Committee.

In speaking about Trotskiy, the authors of the article in *Der Spiegel* are right about one thing when they note that to hasten the transition to socialism Trotskiy proposed implementing the idea of the "militarization of labor." Leaving to their conscience the remark that the militarization of labor is practiced in the Soviet Union to this day, we shall say that at the end of the civil war Trotskiy really did put forward a plan for the general militarization of labor designed for the entire period of building socialism. Speaking at the ninth Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Congress, he proposed restructuring the economy along army lines, subordinating the workers and peasants to harsh military discipline, and turning trade unions into the tool for the militarization of labor. "In the military sphere," Trotskiy said, "there is an appropriate apparatus which can be employed to force soldiers to fulfill their duties. This should exist in some form in the labor sphere..."

We know that the party rejected these attempts. A plan was elaborated for developing the economy on the basis of introducing into it the latest achievements of science and technology—the plan of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia. Trotskiy opposed this plan and predicted its inevitable failure.

The difference between Lenin and Trotskiy became most acute in the period of transition from war to peace, particularly during the all-party discussion on trade unions. Trotskiy demanded a "shake-up" of the trade unions and that they be made the "champions of revolutionary repression" and a tool to compel the working class and peasants to labor activity. He objected to the party policy for the democratization of trade union life, demanded the "tightening the screws of war communism," and attempted to turn the trade unions, or rather their leading organs, into an integral part of the state apparatus and to deprive the trade unions of the character of an independent public organization ("statization" of trade unions). Trotskiy rejected Lenin's idea of competition, of economic incentives to labor activity, and the utilization of the material interest of the workers and peasants in increasing their labor productivity. He fought for wage-leveling while maintaining shock production based on sheer coercion.

Describing the thrust of the discussion, Vladimir Ilich indicated that its struggle was actually over the question of "the methods of approaching the masses, controlling the masses, and communicating with the masses." Trotskiy upheld the military-bureaucratic line based on ideas of petit bourgeois "barrack-room communism." V.I. Lenin saw a particular danger in the proposals of Trotskiy and other members of the opposition in the fact that they "talk to the point of renouncing... the leading role of the party in relation to the nonparty masses." This was a "fundamental theoretical digression from communism and a trend toward syndicalism and anarchism... "

The resolution of the 10th Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Congress, "On the Syndicalist and Anarchistic Tendency in Our Party" confirmed the fundamental conclusion that without leadership from the Communist Party the "dictatorship of the proletariat is inconceivable." Another resolution, "On Party Unity," was also adopted at this congress. V.I. Lenin was the author of both these resolutions and initiated their adoption. In his speech to the congress he called the discussion unleashed by the Trotskiyites an inadmissible luxury and gave an assurance that the party would not allow such discussions in future.

In this period Trotskiy used any excuse to make attacks on the Central Committee and refused to fulfill its instructions.

"This attitude of Comrade Trotskiy's toward the Politburo has been continuing not for a month or two but for perhaps about 2 years. More than once we have listened to the unfounded negative descriptions of the Politburo's work even when this work was going on under the chairmanship of Vladimir Ilich. Comrade Trotskiy stated more than once to us that he was 'holding back from' resolving 90 percent of current economic questions in the Politburo," members of the Central Committee Politburo wrote in March 1923.

In the fall of 1923, during V.I. Lenin's illness, Trotskiy began to seek the repeal of Lenin's resolution "On Party Unity," insisting on the freedom of factions and groupings...

There is no need to relate the further struggle with the members of the opposition—party documents on this question are widely known.

In January 1929 the United State Political Administration adopted the decision to expel Trotskiy from the USSR. Once abroad, he immediately launched vigorous anti-Soviet activity, and in 1938 was the initiator in setting up the anticommunist "Fourth International," which operates to this day. Although, as *Der Spiegel* writes, this organization did not have an historical future. Its branches, adhering to world revolution, soon split, entangled in endless ideological battles.

In conclusion, let us turn to another theory advanced by the article in *Der Spiegel*. It traces a story fairly widespread in the West which alleges that the defeat of Trotskiyism was the work of the "dictator Stalin." An attempt is thereby once again being made to belittle the significance of the defeat of Trotskiyist ideology and present the situation as a power struggle between two strong personalities. But it is quite obvious that this is a deliberate distortion of historical facts. It is clear from what has been said above that Trotskiyism was ideologically defeated in V.I. Lenin's lifetime, with Vladimir Ilich himself playing a decisive role in this struggle. The party completed the task begun by V.I. Lenin in the following years.

Yes, Stalin did also have a personal dislike for Trotskiy; V.I. Lenin pointed out the personal conflict between them in his "Letter to the Congress," emphasizing that relations between them threatened to split the Central Committee. His criticism of Stalin's personal traits is also well known. But it must be pointed out that Trotskiy ruined personal relations with very many people in the party. It is well known, for example, that Trotskiy wove intrigues against Frunze, was disrespectful toward Zinovyev, slighted Ordzhonikidze, Kuybyshev, and Mikoyan, spoke maliciously of Kirov, and, once he was out of the country, even began to slander Kamenev, his close relative. He always felt himself alienated in Lenin's Central Committee.

The party's rejection of Trotskiy and Trotskiyism and its break with him was the natural outcome of Trotskiy's long conflict with Bolshevism and its principles and traditions.

Scientific

Further Reportage on 'Mir' Complex

Monkeys 'Feeling Fine'

LD080003 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 87

The first week of the flight of the new biosatellite has ended. On board the Soviet scientists, with their colleagues from many countries, are resolving the fundamental, practical tasks for future manned space expeditions. How do the passengers of the scientific craft feel, especially the Rhesus monkeys, Drema, and Yerosha, who are helping the experts research how the living organism's fine mechanisms adapt to conditions of space flight?

By the morning after the launch, both passengers were feeling fine. The nice Rhesus monkeys from the Sukhumi nursery have turned out to be excellent operatives, demonstrating from session to session a brilliant mastery of the the program of experiments. They receive food and juices only after the correct response to light signals. After breakfast and supper, they sleep peacefully. On the fifth day, however, Yerosha freed his left front paw from the clamp on the seat and began investigating everything around him. Specialists are checking all variants in his actions which may complicate the flight program. An experiment has been set up on the ground with Yerosha's understudy, who has been placed in a similar space capsule with his left paw free.

Everything is all right in the remaining compartments of the space biological laboratory. Several times a day after every session, at a consultation, the same question is decided. Should the flight program be continued to the maximum, up to 12 days, or should preparations begin for the descent? The total sum of analyses of the whole situation, the data obtained in the experiment on the ground, and humanitarian considerations, by which scientists are always guided in experiments with animals, may at any time cause the experts to decide upon a descent. A team of biologists at the landing point are ready to receive the passengers in the biological laboratory.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 2045 GMT on 6 October transmits a shorter report on the situation on board the biosatellite. The TASS report adds the following information:

["The most difficult time has passed. Professor Y. Ilyin, head of the research program on Soviet biosatellites, stressed in his account that the third flight by monkeys on board a satellite had already provided an opportunity to specify more precisely the nature of weightlessness' influence on the living organism, depending on the individual's specific characteristics. The names of the main passengers match some specific features of their characters. Drema is steadier and slower. Herosha is a typical smart guy; he is younger and considerably lighter. What happened? During the very first orbit, their reactions were in keeping with their characters, as the medical men say. The elder and 'sensible' one met the g-load and weightlessness with a normal reaction, while the smart guy's pulse rose to 200 beats per minute, and his temperature rose. However, the morning after the launch, both passengers were feeling fine."]

Cosmonauts Continue Research

LD061324 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 6 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from the mission control centre:

Commander of the crew of the "Mir" complex Yuriy Romanenko has been working on the near earth orbit for eight months now and the flight engineer, Aleksandr Aleksandrov, is completing his eleventh week.

Simultaneously with the unloading of the "Progress-32" transport and preventive maintenance work aboard the station, the cosmonauts continue fulfilling their scientific programme. Under today's programme, in particular, biotechnical, geophysical and astrophysical experiments will be carried out and equipment rigged up to conduct experiments on space materials science.

A series of experiments on the synthesis of polyachrylamide gel needed for the improvement of technology of obtaining biologically active compounds in Earth conditions has started on the Svetoblock-T device.

The crew will use the EFO-1 electronic photometer for several cycles of measurements of changing brightness of stars when they set behind the Earth atmosphere. The experiment aims to further study the structure of the atmosphere and obtain experimental data on the dust layer of the micrometeoritic material at an altitude of approximately 100 kilometers.

The flight continues normally.

Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov feel well.

More on Moscow International Space Forum

Ryzhkov Greets Participants

PM041448 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

[Message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: "To the Participants in the International Forum To Mark the 30th Anniversary of the Soviet Union's Launch of the First Artificial Satellite"]

[Text] I greet the participants in the Moscow international space forum, which marks the 30th anniversary of the launch of the first artificial earth satellite, created by the inspired, intensive labor of Soviet scientists, engineers, and workers.

The launch of the first satellite was a new step in the development of civilization and opened up unprecedented opportunities for all mankind.

For space orbits, the concept of state borders does not exist. By its very nature, space activity is designed for international cooperation, which should use the properties of outer space to resolve many global problems in the interests of all our planet's peoples.

The study and exploitation of outer space is increasingly becoming the asset of all mankind. Our people, like other peoples, welcomed Yuriy Gagarin's flight, which heralded the start of the exploration of space by man, as well as Neil Armstrong's first steps on the Moon.

The Soviet Union actively supports developing international cooperation to peacefully exploit space. A successful example of this cooperation is the Vega project and the international crews on the "Salyut" and "Mir" orbital stations. We are resolutely opposed to turning space into a new arena of the arms race.

We will continue the course of promoting in every way forming structures of international cooperation in the exploration of outer space, including a world space organization, which could in future work in close collaboration with the United Nations as an autonomous part of its system. I hope your forum will make a marked contribution to this noble cause.

At present, in our opinion, conditions and needs are ripe for international cooperation at a significantly higher level, a level that accords with the growing interdependence and integral nature of our civilization.

To preserve this unique civilization, which is perhaps alone in the galaxy, we primarily need stable peace on our planet. Your forum's slogan, "Cooperation in space for the sake of peace on earth," indicates precisely that international cooperation in space could and should act as a bridge for strengthening trust and mutual understanding between states and peoples, which will lead to a lessening of the mortal danger of global warfare.

I would like to wish you success at your meeting, which could result not only in the expansion of joint space programs but in an improvement in the political situation on earth.

[signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Marchuk Speaks

LD022342 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 2 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow, 2 Oct (TASS)—"We see reserves for increasing the effectiveness of space research in international cooperation on both a bilateral and multilateral basis," said Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

He spoke here today at the opening of the international forum Cooperation in Space in the Name of Peace on Earth, in which about 600 Soviet and foreign scientists are participating. The forum is being held to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the space age, which began with the launch of the first Soviet artificial earth satellite.

Talking of the danger of the arms race, he noted that today mankind must work on the basis of the need for self-preservation, not only as a civilization but also as a biological species. Those who are directly involved in the exploration of space have a special responsibility to ensure that it does not become an arena for hardened military and political rivalry, to ensure that everything done in space serves the general interests of our increasingly interdependent world.

The Soviet Union, Marchuk continued, is proposing the creation of a world space organization and concentrating efforts under its aegis on developing major projects for space technology's use to solve tasks of social and economic development common to all countries, such as communications, navigation, and rescuing people on earth, in the atmosphere, and in space. Remote sensing of the earth in the interests of agriculture, harnessing natural resources of the land and the world's oceans, the preservation and study of the earth's biosphere, and development of new materials and technologies can also become the subject of international cooperation. In proposing such projects, the Soviet Union considers that they should embody the best achievements of international technological thought and be the fruits of the cooperation of all states, on the basis of equal rights and genuine mutual benefit.

Dunayev On Future Complexes

LD041521 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 2 Oct 87

[Text] By the year 2000, the Soviet Union will have in space orbital complexes operating in combination with transportation systems consisting of various rockets, reusable spacecraft, and interorbital tugs. These perspectives of Soviet space exploration have been outlined by Aleksandr Dunayev, who heads the State Committee on Space Research. He was speaking at the international forum Cooperation in Space for Peace on Earth, underway in Moscow. Dunayev said the economic effect of space activities amounted to about R1 billion a year.

The scientific director of the European Space Agency, Roger Bonnet, spoke at the forum about the Soviet Union's signal achievements in space since it launched the first earth satellite in 1957.

Zaykov, Yazov, Maslyukov Attend

PM041452 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Oct 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Devoted to the Jubilee"]

[Text] Cosmonautics is the embodiment of our age—the age of Great October. The first spacecraft—a Soviet satellite—went into outer space on 4 October 1957. Thirty years of exploring space have been marked by major achievements of Soviet science and technology. The Earth's first cosmonaut was a citizen of the Soviet Union—Yuriy Gagarin. Orbital flights lasting many months by the crews of scientific research complexes are new milestones in the systematic assault on space.

The development of cosmonautics in our country and use of space for peaceful purposes were addressed by participants in a ceremonial meeting of representatives of the working people devoted to the 30th anniversary of the launch of the first artificial satellite. This was held in Moscow 2 October.

On the presidium were L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Y.D. Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.S. Belyakov and Y.A. Sklyarov, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; leaders of ministries and departments, military leaders, scientists, pilot-cosmonauts, and representatives of soviet and public organizations.

A report was delivered by Academician G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Participants Urge Cooperation

PM061447 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 87 Second Edition p 5

["Appeal by the Participants of the International Forum 'Cooperation in Space For Peace on Earth'" under the headline "Call For Cooperation"]

[Text] We, the participants of the international forum Cooperation in Space for Peace on Earth, have come from many countries. We have gathered in Moscow on the 30th anniversary of the launching of the world's first artificial satellite for a public and informal discussion on the prospects for research into and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, ways of developing space science and technology, and means of stepping up international cooperation in that area. We note mankind's outstanding successes in space exploration: from the first satellite and the first flight by an earthman into space, to manned flights lasting many months, the landing of a man on the moon, the creation of large orbital complexes, and the implementation of ultra long-range expeditions to Mars, Venus, and other planets. A great transition is taking place from contemplation of the universe to the active, practical use of its resources and potential.

We are deeply convinced that the peaceful exploration of space is a powerful catalyst of scientific and technical progress, that it is intended to substantially contribute to the solution of present-day global problems. Space must be placed at the service of the cause of peace and welfare of human beings, wherever they live—in East or West, South or North, in socialist or capitalist conditions.

Organizing and developing extensive international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of space is the only sensible alternative to military space programs. By jointly channeling resources, material, and intellectual potential into implementing creative programs in space, states would master in practice the science of living in peace, imbuing their relations with humanity, respect, and mutual understanding. Cooperation in space open and accessible to all is intended to help mankind rid himself of the oppressive burden of distrust and enmity.

Regarding the peaceful exploration of space as a problem for all mankind, we say that in conditions of further broadening interdependence and interplay of all aspects of human activity, cooperation in space on a worldwide scale meets the aspirations and interests of all peoples and states. The overall effect of the pooling of efforts in space ultimately benefits everyone, in particular the developing countries, who have a valid wish to join in space activity and use its results to solve their own socioeconomic problems.

The forum participants call upon the governments of all states to cooperate to keep space peaceful and open to fruitful joint work for the benefit and interests of the peoples of the world.

New Space Experiment Under Phobos Program

LD061222 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 6 Oct 87

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—The Soviet Union is preparing for a new space experiment. Under the Phobos program two Soviet automatic space probes will start their journey next July to Mars and Phobos, one of its natural satellites, the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* reported today.

The radio complex which is to control the flight of the probes will be practically a new one compared with that used for the Venus—Halley's Comet project, according to the paper. During the Halley's Comet mission the accuracy of homing was in the hundreds of meters. Gulliver, the 80-kilowatt transmitter used during that mission, ensured communication over the ultrahigh frequency band. This is no longer enough.

Under the Phobos program the accuracy of homing should be 5 meters, otherwise it will be impossible to "hover" at an altitude of 30 to 50 meters from the surface of the Martian satellite.

A new generation transmitter, aptly named Goliath (it is a 200 kilowatt system) operating in the superhigh frequency band is called upon to ensure the needed accuracy and increase the amount of information transmitted.

The vast program and the complexity of planned maneuvers of the spacecraft made it necessary to re-equip the entire command complex. Data processing will be entrusted to new computers. Radiolocation of celestial bodies moving along the route to be taken by the probes will start shortly.

Meanwhile, scientists are getting ready for experiments unheard-of in the space exploration effort.

For instance, under Lima and Dion experiments special guns installed aboard one of the spacecraft will bombard the surface of Phobos with laser rays and heavy ions of krypton. Reflected emissions and particles "blown" from the surface will get into traps aboard the spacefract and undergo a comprehensive analysis. The findings will be instantaneously relayed to research centers.

Scientists in 12 European countries who took part in drafting the program expect the experiment to unlock many a mystery surrounding Mars and its satellites.

BRIEFS

Arctic Research Station

Vladivostok October 5 TASS—The Soviet Union's national flag was hoisted over a new drifting research station in the Arctic. The station, Severny Polyus-30 (North Pole-30), was established north of Wrangel Island and is manned by a scientific party brought there by the diesel-electric ship *Vitus Bering*. The scientists are to conduct all-round studies of the Arctic region and help forecast the weather and ice conditions in the high latitudes, which is needed by shipping. The *Vitus Bering* was led by the ice-breaker *Yermak*. It was the third polar station set up with help from the Far Eastern Sea Shipping Company. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 5 Oct 87 LD*]

Yevgeny Velikhov Awarded Medal

Moscow October 2 TASS—Academician Yevgeny Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was awarded today the honorary Faraday Medal at the current eleventh international scientific forum on energy in Moscow. This way the world scientific community recognised the outstanding contribution of the well-known Soviet physicist to fundamental and applied research in the field of [word indistinct] magnetic method, one of the most promising methods of directly converting heat energy into electric power. The Soviet Union holds leading positions in this field of power engineering. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 2 Oct 87 LD*]

NOTES

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